

**ON THE**

**"LITHUANIAN**

**PROBLEM"**

**(WHITE)**

**BOOK**

**MOSCOW 1990**

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# **IN LIEU OF AN INTRODUCTION**

**Novosti Press Agency has received a great number of requests from people in this country and abroad, as well as from foreign mass media for information on the situation in Lithuania, the origin and probable ways of resolving the emergent problems in that republic. And so we publish these documentary data.**

# LITHUANIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC



Territory 65,200 square kilometers.

Population 3,641,000. Lithuanians account for 80 percent, Russians, 9 percent, Poles, 7 percent, Byelorussians, 2 percent.  
Capital—Vilnius.

## **Historical Background**

The Lithuanian state was formed in the 13th century and till the 15th century peoples inhabiting Lithuania suffered continuous attacks by German feudal-catholic aggressors, and together with Polish and Russian troops they defeated the Teutonic Order in the Battle at Grunwald.

Lithuania merged with Poland in 1569 according to the Union of Lublin to form Rzeczpospolita.

In 1795-1815 all Lithuania, except the Klaipeda region, was incorporated into Russia.

On February 16, 1918, Lithuanian Tariba declared Lithuania's independence.

In December 1918—January 1919, Soviet government was established on a considerable part of Lithuanian territory.

On December 22, 1918, the Lithuanian Soviet Republic was recognized by the government of Soviet Russia.

From February to August 1919, it formed part of the Lithuanian-Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

After August 1919, Lithuania was a bourgeois republic.

In 1926 an authoritarian coup d'etat was staged in the republic.

In 1940 the working people of Lithuania re-established Soviet rule in the republic.

On June 21, 1940, the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic was set up and became part of the USSR on August 3, 1940.

In 1941 the republic was occupied by Nazi troops and liberated by the Soviet Army in July 1944.

## **What has Lithuania Gained from Accession to the Soviet Federation?**

In 1940, the level of industrial development in Lithuania was one-third that of the Soviet Union as a whole, with only 7 percent of the population employed in industry.

In 1988 Lithuania's GNP per head was 2,427 rubles, the average national index being 2,210 rubles.

During the years of Soviet government about 50 billion rubles has been invested in the republic's economy, with the rate of investment growth much higher than the national index.

As a result, Lithuania's industrial output has increased 84-fold on 1940.

As many as 220 large enterprises has been built. Such industries as machine-tools, ship-building, electrical engineering, electronics, radioelectronics, chemicals, and petrochemicals have been created anew and the fishing industry was modernized.

Lithuania's energy sector has been developed, including such major projects as the Lenin Heating and Power Plant in Elektrenai (1,800 megawatt) and the Ignalinskaya N-plant (two reactors 1,500 megawatt each) in Snieckus. Lithuania produces an average of 6,200 kilowatt/hours of electricity per head far more than in Britain, Belgium, Denmark, Italy and Spain.

Gross farm output in 1989 was 4.9 billion rubles. In 1940 farm output per head was 656 rubles, compared with 1,334 rubles in 1989.

Central resources were provided for extensive land improvement work, social development of rural Lithuania, and road building. Improved lands account for over 70 percent of farmland, compared with 7 percent in the Soviet Union as a whole.

Social welfare standards have risen. Some 70 percent of the population live in homes built during the years of Soviet government. In 1939 Lithuania had 2,200 doctors and 1,400 paramedical personnel; in 1989 the figures were 17,000 and 48,600, respectively.

The network of cultural and educational establishments has been extended. The number of public libraries rose from 200 (585,000 books and magazines) to 2,000 (37,300,000 copies), that of community centers from 75 to 1,500, and that of museums from 15 to 42.

In 1940, 387 volumes were published; in 1989 the figure was 1,672 (in the Lithuanian language 336 and 1,270, respectively, with annual book output up from 3.8 million copies to 16.7 million, including 14.5 million in Lithuanian).

# **ON THE NATIONALITIES POLICY IN THE SOVIET UNION**

**From the Report by Mikhail Gorbachev,  
General Secretary of the CPSU Central  
Committee, at the Soviet Communist Party's  
Central Committee Plenum on  
September 19, 1989**

The nationalities issue and, above all, the issue of the correlation between the internationalist and the national in our Party had to be addressed even as the revolution was being prepared and especially during the course of building a socialist society.

The Party has upheld an internationalist stance since the very beginning, a position which is in full accordance with Marxist teaching. As understood by Lenin, internationalism includes unfailing regard for ethnic interests, respect for the identity of each ethnic group, the recognition of the equality of all peoples and implacable opposition to any form of national oppression.

These goals can and should be achieved by the joint efforts of the working people of all nationalities. These are the Leninist dialectics of the internationalist and the national.

After the October Revolution, the Party was confronted with the need to find specific ways and forms of implementing its nationalities policy. The Soviet system of government inherited a grave legacy from tsarism: the country was torn apart by ethnic problems and the peoples inhabiting it, in addition to the fact that they had no rights, were at different levels of economic and cultural development.

In those conditions, the problem of a state structure became vitally significant. Many then advocated some degree of autonomy, or even a unitary state.

All the greater is the credit that must be given to Lenin then, for he was able to correctly understand the mood of the masses and the pressing needs of societal development and work out an optimum Party strategy as regards the nationalities issue.

This is how the idea of a state federation of a historically new type emerged, to become one of the principal motive forces behind the dynamic progress of the entire country and of each ethnic group in it. The impulse provided by the creation of the Union of

Soviet Socialist Republics determined the main avenue for the development of our multinational society, although Stalin and his entourage were later still able, without directly encroaching on the federal form of statehood, to translate their idea of limited autonomy into reality.

Distortions in ethnic relations, the baneful effects of excessive centralization and bureaucratic administration, and injustices done to a number of peoples have recently come under extensive and harsh criticism. The criticism is justified. More than that, it has been essential. There must not be a single "blank spot" left in the Soviet state's history. Society should have full and exhaustive information about all its chapters, no matter how bitter. But while continuing and even deepening the analysis and criticism of the distortions of Lenin's nationalities policy, we should not allow some untruths or semi-truths to be replaced by others.

We should view how the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—a unique phenomenon in human history—came into being and developed from a strictly objective standpoint.

Attempts to idealize the past and present it in rosy colours alone are useless and unacceptable. This, as we have seen, does not serve the interests of the working people or the cause of socialism. But it would be equally wrong to approach the past from nihilist positions—not only because it represents the experience of the struggle of many generations for a new society, for new relationships among peoples, but also because it gives us the right to speak of tremendous and historic achievements.

We must see the essence of the Soviet state's development aside from the distortions and mistakes that have occurred. We have no right to forget that we are evaluating the life and destiny, thoughts and deeds of those who have built up this state, who bore the brunt of the efforts to overcome the country's economic backwardness, who shoulder to shoulder defended our homeland during the Great Patriotic War, and who raised it from the ruins after the war.

We have all grown up in a social atmosphere literally permeated with internationalism. Friendship of the peoples was not an abstract slogan for us, but an everyday reality. Can we forget about this? Can we renounce the internationalist legacy of our revolution? We must not allow the difficulties and problems that are overwhelming us today to eclipse the fundamental values forming the basis of our multinational country that were created during the years of Soviet government. I will put it this way: any attempts to distort and belittle the true achievements in the sphere of ethnic relations is an outrage against the memory of several

generations of Soviet people. These attempts hold no water when compared to the actual facts of our life.

Somebody today claiming that Soviet government has not brought about fundamental changes as regards national development and interethnic relations as compared to the situation in prerevolutionary Russia is engaged in nothing but a dishonest distortion of reality aimed at whipping up nationalistic passions and promoting various extremist demands.

Carried away by nationalism, some people are going to such lengths as to claim that internationalism and friendship of the peoples are meaningless propagandistic slogans, myths that do not reflect the actual state of affairs. But this is ridiculous. Manifestations of fraternal assistance, cooperation, concern and care for each other's affairs are constantly occurring in the life of our society. This, however, is not to ignore the fact that today, as I have already stated, we are confronted with an accumulation of serious interethnic conflicts and problems.

What the nationalities policy of the CPSU and the development of the Soviet federation have brought to our peoples is a matter of fundamental significance. Let us consider the issue in its three main dimensions: political, economic and intellectual.

That the peoples of Russia acquired various forms of national statehood is one of the most important political results of the October Revolution and subsequent socialist transformations.

Comrades, it must be remembered that tsarist Russia did not have the Ukraine, Byelorussia or Georgia, but only provinces of the Russian empire. Their peoples were not regarded as whole nations in their own right, but only as the subjects of "his majesty the emperor." The same was true of other peoples of Transcaucasia, the peoples of the Baltic region and Moldavia. In Central Asia the situation was even worse, for there the remnants of feudal theocratic despotism formed the basis of the administrative set-up.

After the revolution there was an intertwining of complex processes involving the consolidation of various nations, the formation of their socialist statehood and, at the same time, the development of interaction and membership in the federation. The year 1922, when a Treaty on the Formation of the USSR was concluded, and the year 1924, when the first USSR Constitution was passed, became landmarks in this respect.

In 1940 the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic was formed in the USSR. In the same year the USSR was joined by Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. This took place in a complex historical period when the Second World War had already broken out and fascism

was conquering one country after another. The peoples of the Baltic region also faced a real threat of enslavement.

Intense discussions are currently being held on events during that period. Much has yet to be analyzed and evaluated.

But there are no grounds to question the decision by the Baltic republics to join the USSR and the choice made by their peoples.

It is also clear that in taking a variety of measures to strengthen the country's security in the face of the Nazi threat, the leadership of the Soviet Union committed gross violations of the Leninist principles of foreign policy, which rejects divisions into spheres of influence. We resolutely condemn this.

Generally speaking, comrades, we are for the full restoration of historical truth. History cannot be rewritten in order to suit subjective views and political calculations, or to give in to the passions and ambitions of the present.

The course of events cannot be reversed. One can only go forward relying on historical truth and the reality of the modern world.

As a result of historical developments, even if they were contradictory, a single federal socialist state took shape inhabited by more than 100 ethnic groups. It has a complex structure, with Union and Autonomous Republics and autonomous regions and districts and with corresponding bodies of representative power and administration and other political and social institutions providing the peoples with opportunities to share in the process of shaping history.

But the functioning of this system and consequently the fulfilment of the diverse interests of the peoples inhabiting our country were severely hamstrung by unitarism and command methods of management, which circumscribed the rights of republics and other national entities, emasculated the real substance of the federation and held back the progress of our entire society.

I must also mention injustices and lawless acts committed against certain ethnic groups in the past, especially during and immediately after the war. Although political decisions have already been taken and assessments of principle made on this score, since we are dealing with the nationalities policy, it should be said again today that the outrages against ethnic groups and their banishment from their native land during the Great Patriotic War must be strongly condemned.

We must do everything to restore the violated rights of the Soviet Germans, Crimean Tatars, Meskhetian Turks, Kalmyks, Balkars, Karachais, Chechens, Ingushes, Greeks, Koreans and Kurds. The issue is not simple and in many respects is also painful.

But regardless of the difficulties involved, we have only one way out: we must painstakingly search for solutions that will be acceptable to all and take into account existing realities.

Now, let us look at the economic side of the matter.

As a result of the concerted policy of expediting the development of former outlying areas inhabited by national minorities, all Union Republics were able to create their own multibranch industries during the years of Soviet government, and their social and economic development levels were evened out. Whereas in 1926 the maximum per capita industrial output of the old industrial regions exceeded that of the national outlying areas by 38 times, in 1941 that gap had shrunk to 4.1 times and now stands at only 2.3 times. While way back in the late 1950s workers outnumbered other social groups only in the Russian Federation, Estonia and Latvia, by the end of the 1970s this was true of practically every republic. Whereas before the war many ethnic groups did not have their own qualified personnel, the situation has now changed dramatically and all of them have such personnel, including specialists of the highest qualification.

During the first decades of Soviet government there could be no question of equivalent economic exchanges between different republics. The economically more developed regions, primarily the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, bore the brunt of the efforts to bring all parts of the country up to the same level of development.

But it was not always the European part of the country that gave material and technical aid to the Asian part.

Suffice it to recall the post-war economic restoration. The entire federation then contributed to overcoming the devastation in the war-ravaged regions of Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Moldavia, and to helping the industry and agriculture in the Baltic republics to get back on their feet.

To put it in a nutshell, great wealth has been created over the years of Soviet government by the pooled efforts of all our peoples. Each ethnic group is entitled to see this as incorporating its work as well, to view it as also belonging to it, as being common property. As a result of many years of developing on the basis of plans, the Soviet economy has become highly integrated and now forms a single national economic complex. I am not just speaking of the sum total of production capacities, but of a single economic organism whose separate parts cannot exist without the already formed and steadily-deepening relationship within the national economy as a whole.

In noting these achievements, I am by no means claiming that

we have reached the limit in ensuring the harmonious interaction of all the elements of our national economy.

Unfortunately, we are in many ways lagging behind here, and the further deepening of labor cooperation is an important reserve in our development. But nonetheless, the attained level of economic interaction literally rebels against any attempts to disrupt it. We must all fully realize this so as not to make mistakes in the decisions we are making and will continue to make in the course of perestroika.

I would like to cite some figures on the balance of intersectoral exchanges which characterize interrepublican relationships. In 1987 the share of industrial output imported by the republics from other parts of the country amounted to 18 percent in the Russian Federation, 26 percent in the Ukraine, 39 percent in Byelorussia, 33 percent in Kazakhstan, 33-40 percent in the Transcaucasian republics, 39-42 percent in the Baltic republics, 37-47 percent in Central Asia and 44 percent in Moldavia.

Russia's powerful oil-and-gas complex satisfies most of the energy requirements in all the republics. The Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan supply all the country with metal and account for 90 percent of grain production.

Central Asia, in addition to many other goods, supplies a highly valuable commodity—cotton. Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia manufacture precision machinery and light industry goods, and are major suppliers of meat, milk and potatoes. The Transcaucasian republics and Moldavia also have unique economic profiles. Analysis shows that practically no republic could have built up the potential it now possesses by itself. Not one of them could have ensured the normal operation and effective use of that potential it now possesses by itself. Not one of them could have ensured the normal operation and effective use of that potential on its own. Such are the results that have been achieved by pooling the efforts of nationalities.

The reality is that the Latvian SSR, for instance, satisfies 96 percent of its requirements in fuel, 50 percent of its requirements in electric power, 84 percent of its requirements in ferrous metals, 97 percent of its requirements in non-ferrous metals, 68 percent of its requirements in raw chemical materials and 46 percent of its requirements in machine-building products through imports from other parts of the country. About 1.5 million tonnes of grain are annually brought from other parts of the country to feed the republic's livestock. This is more than a half of the concentrated fodder used there.

The picture is similar in other republics. Armenia, for example,

imports from other parts of the country 100 percent of its fuel, 93 percent of its ferrous metallurgy products, 56 percent of its chemical and petrochemical goods, 32 percent of its machine-building and metal-working products, and 37 percent of the meat and more than 64 percent of the dairy products it consumes. The Uzbek Republic satisfies in this way 50 percent of its requirements in oil and gas industry products, 56 percent of its requirements in coal, and 80 percent of its requirements in ferrous metallurgy and 48 percent in non-ferrous metallurgy products.

One of the most important prerequisites for the normal functioning of any economy is the existence of a developed market. We know how tough competition on the world market now is. And the fact that there is a virtually unlimited all-Union market is undoubtedly a major advantage for all our republics and regions.

Here is an example. Lithuania supplies other republics with computers, TV sets, sound-recording equipment, machine-tools, electrical engineering products, and goods of the light and food industries, and receives technological equipment, cars, tractors, combine-harvesters and oil products from Russia; metal and coal from the Ukraine; potash fertilizer from Byelorussia; cotton from Central Asia; non-ferrous metals and wool from Kazakhstan; and fruit from Moldavia and Transcaucasia.

An understanding of the established economic realities and conclusions based on an analysis of them are essential for elaborating an up-to-date nationalities policy. It goes without saying that one cannot ignore the negative trends that have emerged as a consequence of the irrational allocation of productive forces and have led to ecological and demographic problems. Some regions suffer from labour shortages, with the existing plant not being fully used, which inflicts heavy economic losses on society. Other regions, primarily the republics of Central Asia and, to some extent, Transcaucasia and Moldavia, have excessive manpower resources. This is turning out to be one of the sources of social tension and the flare-up of conflict situations, including in the sphere of ethnic relations. Evidence supporting this has been more than ample as of late.

The causes of the existing situation must be adequately studied. All these questions should be thoroughly analyzed within the framework of the on-going work on the concept of economic restructuring. Uzbekistan has made proposals and other republics are also drafting theirs. This work should be continued so that the first major steps towards improving the situation can be made in the 13th five-year-plan period.

Here is what I would like to tell you, comrades, as regards all

this. We now speak, and rightly so, about the baneful effect of excessive centralization, the diktat and arbitrariness of departments in the development of various economic branches. But I could show you today a volume summarizing requests that have come from the Union Republics over the last ten years for the construction of new enterprises and the establishment of new industries. Much of what the center is now being blamed for emerged as a result of persistent, repeated requests from republican and local bodies. Look at verbatim reports of the USSR Supreme Soviet's sessions and you will see they are full of unending requests of this kind. And think of all the memorandums that have been sent to the Party Central Committee.

In a bid to secure one or another prestigious project, local authorities often agreed to the harshest of conditions demanded by central departments while the allocation of funds for social development was maintained at a minimum level and people's needs were virtually ignored. These problems are universal in character, but in our country they have taken on an ethnic colouring.

Our economy has a foundation upon which we can generally rely, but there is also much work to be done.

As regards the assessment of the situation in the intellectual life of our multinational country, we must give credit to the large-scale work of historic dimensions, both in terms of volume and significance, that has made it possible to save many unique national traditions from complete extinction or revive and reintroduce them and to give a powerful boost to the cultures of all peoples.

The statement that some ethnic groups only acquired a written form of their language under Soviet government has become a cliche. But what does it mean? Take away from a person the ability to speak and write in his native language and to know the history and legends of his people, and he will lose his sense of kinship and therefore spirituality, even if he is quite well off materially.

The cultural revolution in this country, a Leninist policy, has produced impressive results despite all the distortions that have occurred. Today every nation has its own scientific and artistic intelligentsia, the vehicle of its culture, and something through which it gains access to the values of other Soviet nations, to the world's treasure-houses of knowledge and to artistic classics. Each republic has scientific centers, universities and institutes, a wide network of public education and its own theatres. National cinema, art and architecture are in the process of development. It is a fact, however, that many areas of scientific and artistic creative endeavor cannot develop without all-round state support or the care and attention of society. Soviet power took charge of all this, and in this lies its greatest humanistic mission.

When speaking about the results of our cultural development, it is impossible to ignore the growing interaction of national cultures. Living together and our peoples' advance along the socialist road have resulted in the growth of a Soviet culture, marked by the rich variety and diversity of national features and traditions. These are also the worthy fruits of cooperation between fraternal nations and something we take pride in.

This being so, it is all the more intolerable than along with the vivid manifestations of the socialist way of life, acute problems have accumulated in this sphere. Thousands of successful national regions, as well as settlements and village Soviets, created in the 1920s, were unjustifiably eliminated. Problems arose in satisfying the national requirements of the people of various nationalities who, due to natural processes, found themselves scattered throughout all regions of the country.

The problems involved in the development of languages and everything that is language-related—education, publishing and the use of languages in various spheres of state and public life—have acquired an especially acute character.

Under the influence of economic, social and demographic factors the sphere of application of languages other than Russian somewhat narrowed, a process that was interpreted as proof of earlier theories concerning the forcefully accelerated merger of nations, which were raised to the level of program-setting principles. Although these processes caused legitimate anxiety and concerned in society, sensible attempts to find a rational solution were often regarded as nationalism with all the consequences this involved. As a result, the role of certain people's languages was diminished.

Their wish to preserve and develop their mother tongue and to augment their cultural values is quite understandable.

It is extremely important for us to establish where we stand as regards this crucial problem, which has come to acquire a political nature and affects the interests of the whole nation. The position we adopt should take account of all equitable aspirations and be based on the general consensus of opinion.

## **From a Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev at a Meeting with Lithuanian Art Workers and Scientists in Vilnius on January 11, 1990**

...Withdrawal into isolation is a dream which seems attractive. We are for self-determination, including secession. In this connection instructions were given to draft a law on the mechanism of

implementing this right by any Republic. Such a draft already exists and it will be put forward for nationwide discussion and a referendum. This will involve all nations.

But if someone thinks simplistically that an election will be held, say, in a few days, and that you will get together, vote and immediately secede from the Soviet Union, this is not serious politics—this is something definitely not serious, for in that case problems will have to be settled with all the republics and with the state. And what about those people who will want to leave if you secede? Who, for example, will pay for the housing which they will leave behind and who will give them new jobs? This is a very deep, painful and serious process. There is a constitutional right, but the mechanism has not been worked out. Perestroika will fail if we do not solve this problem. But I'm for its solution within the framework of the federation, because otherwise we will face such an aggravation in human relations that this will throw the whole Union and each nation back and result in great losses. That is why we should move slowly but steadily, without getting ahead of ourselves. A start has already been made: the Supreme Soviet is tackling the issues of land and property. Next will come a law on the division of the competence of all-Union and republican bodies. Everything must be clear-cut, not as it is now when a Republic may undermine the supreme law and the supreme law interferes in the affairs which can be settled by a rural Soviet.

We will actively move forward without destroying, without endangering the pillars of our union, without arousing suspicion in each other. Just look at the turmoil the whole country is in! Perestroika is moving ahead, we are all advancing towards democratization and sovereignty, and what do the Lithuanians want? Some are beginning to say that the people cannot be for such a way. The people will have to understand what is what, and of course they will do so when they are told what they will have to go through and what they should expect in that case. They will think. That's why I'm for the second way. You should know about this conviction of mine. I must understand your way of thinking, but you should also know who you are dealing with. A few days ago I was told that Sajudis was holding its sejm and the following words were spoken at it: we should be saying that we support Gorbachev's line, but implement our own line.

A voice from the audience: It's not true. I'm a member of the sejm, and there was nothing of the kind.

Mikhail Gorbachev: Good. I'm glad you refute that. If you put the future of the republic into the hands of such double-faced

politicians, you're in for severe trials. These are people who put their ambitions and unrealized careerist aspirations above everything else, or who are even nostalgic for the past. So what do you want? A young man at the Lenin monument in the square said: "We want freedom, Mikhail Sergeyevich." It's a normal wish. You want to be free, Comrade Prunskiene, so do I. But we met each other, and now we live in one collective, and we must show regard for each other. Do we restrict our freedom by this? Of course, we do. But how can we live otherwise? How?

Some time ago I had a conversation with Mrs. Thatcher which was very heated at the beginning. We then clarified our stands. And I reminded her of Lord Palmerston's well-known words to the effect that England has no eternal enemies or eternal friends, but only eternal interests. What is to be done in this world where we use common nature, resources, seas and oceans, and where we are seeking to draw closer to one another? There's nothing else to do but to recognize each nation's right of choice and find a balance of interests in the same way as it must be done in a collective, in a family, among friends, and in your Republic. It means that a free Lithuania, an independent Lithuania is at the same time a Lithuania which is part of a certain community. Were you more independent when 57 percent of your capital belonged to foreigners? Did you feel very independent? What kind of Lithuanian paradise was it if Lithuanians were leaving it? I am just discussing this with you, for you may also take this difficult road—to break, to destroy things, to set up boundary paths, moreover, to establish frontiers.

Would it not be better to make use of everything valuable that has been accumulated, to get rid of everything that has poisoned our souls and even left a mark on our relations? And to move forward together, giving each other scope for development? I remember that not only right after the war, but in the 60s as well, Byelorussians and Lithuanians came to us to earn grain both for food and sowing. And now, look, Lithuania is quite different. It is a land of great potentialities, provided certain faults—human, political and economic—are got rid of. However, these potentialities are such that they can be realized only in cooperation with the whole of the country, with other peoples. That's how things stand. So we must not break either economic, political, spiritual, or cultural ties; we must enrich them with a new content.

I am confident that nothing good will come of perestroika in Lithuania if the Lithuanian people does not feel itself a master of its own land. But the Lithuanian people will never feel free if it builds its well-being on the detraction and non-recognition of the

rights of other peoples. Such is the dialectics. So let us search for a decision together. . .

I am for the renewal of the federation and against separatism. Some people see such an attitude as a continuation of the imperial way of thinking. To me personally such thinking is absolutely inadmissible. My approach is based on realities. First of all, on the interrelationship in the economic sphere which will make it possible to reveal the rich potential of all the republics in the process of transition from a unitary state to a federation. Does not the opportunity we have today to read Mieželaitis and Oleinik in all languages, as well as Rytkheu, a representative of a Northern people, make us richer? These are realities—all these exchanges that have become an inalienable part of our life. Those quotations that you have addressed to me—I accept them. But there is real life, the life of the people. And I'm also aware of it.

Yesterday one of the speakers at the meeting in Vilnius said: we are looking forward to Gorbachev's visit as the leader of a friendly country. Some way of putting it! This is nothing but playing political footsie. But, I must say, this is not at all that harmless and safe. One cannot play political games when the fate of the peoples is concerned. This must not be done. So, dear friends, let us think and find answers—in the framework of cooperation and collaboration. I am confident that we will find the right answers.

# **ANTI-CONSTITUTIONAL DECISIONS**

On March 10-12, 1990, the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR declared the restoration of the independence of the Lithuanian State and the invalidation of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and of the Constitution of the USSR on the territory of the Republic.

## **ACT of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic ON THE RESTORATION OF THE INDEPENDENT LITHUANIAN STATE**

Expressing the will of the People, the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic hereby resolves and solemnly declares that the exercise of the sovereign rights of the Lithuanian State, flouted by an alien force in 1940, shall now be restored and Lithuania shall henceforward once more become an independent state.

The Lithuanian Council's Independence Act of February 16, 1918, and the Constituent Sejm's Resolution of May 15, 1920, on the reconstitution of the democratic Lithuanian State have never lost their legal force and make up the constitutional base of the Lithuanian State.

The territory of the Lithuanian State is integral and indivisible, and no foreign Constitution is valid on it.

The Lithuanian State places an emphasis on its adherence to the generally recognized principles of international law, acknowledges the inviolability of frontiers, as formulated in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, adopted in Helsinki in 1975, and guarantees the rights of man, citizen and national communities.

The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, as exponent

of its sovereign will, is, in virtue of the present Act, starting to exercise the full sovereignty of the State.

V. LANDSBERGIS,  
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian Republic

L. SABUTIS  
Secretary of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian Republic

Vilnius, March 11, 1990

## ACT ON THE NAME OF THE STATE AND ITS EMBLEM

On restoring the independent state, taking into account the considerable spiritual and political significance of official names and symbols, and realizing the plenipotentiary will of the electorate—the citizens of the renascent Lithuania,

the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania hereby resolves:

1. The sole official name of the State—the "Lithuanian Republic" shall be used in the Constitution and in other legal regulatory acts, and "Lithuania," "of Lithuania," in abbreviated and compound names.
2. The image of Vitis shall henceforward be used as the official State emblem and symbol of the Lithuanian Republic.
3. The Supreme Soviet of Lithuania shall be named: "The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic."
4. The office of Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania shall be named as the office of "Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic."
5. All the subsequent Acts of this Supreme Soviet shall be named the Acts of the First Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic.
6. The State institutions shall be subject to renaming in accordance with Article 1 of the present Act.
7. The present Act shall enter into force upon adoption.

V. LANDSBERGIS,  
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian Republic

L. SABUTIS  
Secretary of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian Republic

Vilnius, March 11, 1990

# **ACT OF THE LITHUANIAN REPUBLIC**

## **On the Restoration of the Constitution of Lithuania of May 12, 1938**

The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic,

—taking into consideration the Ordinance of February 7, 1990, of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR "On the Soviet-German Treaties of 1939 and the Elimination of their Consequences for Lithuania,"

—pointing out the unlawfulness of the suspension of the Lithuanian Constitution of May 12, 1938, in the course of the aggression against the independent Lithuanian state and its annexation, committed by the Soviet Union on June 15, 1940,

—seeking the restoration of the flouted sovereign rights of the people and the Lithuanian state, hereby resolves:

1. The Constitution (Basic Law) of April 20, 1978, of the Lithuanian SSR shall be invalidated.
2. The operation of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the USSR of October 7, 1977, as well as of the Fundamental Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics, and other laws of the USSR on the territory of the Lithuanian Republic shall be terminated.
3. The operation of the Constitution of Lithuania of May 12, 1938, shall be resumed all over the territory of the Lithuanian Republic while suspending the validity of the chapters and articles governing the status of the President, the Sejm, the State Council and the State Inspection Service of the Republic.
4. It shall hereby be established that the restoration of the Constitution of Lithuania of May 12, 1938, shall not by itself revalidate the laws which had been in force in the Lithuanian Republic prior to June 15, 1940.

5. The present Act shall enter into force upon adoption.

V. LANDSBERGIS,  
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian Republic

L. SABUTIS  
Secretary of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian Republic

Vilnius, March 11, 1990

# **ACT OF THE LITHUANIAN REPUBLIC**

## **On the Interim Basic Law of the Lithuanian Republic**

Taking into account the necessity of bringing the provisions of the restored Constitution of Lithuania of May 12, 1938, into line with the changed political, economic and other social relations, the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic hereby resolves:

1. The Lithuanian Constitution of May 12, 1938, shall be suspended.
2. The interim Basic Law of the Lithuanian Republic shall be endorsed.
3. It shall hereby be established that the laws and other legal Acts which have been in force in Lithuania until now and which do not contradict the interim Basic Law of the Lithuanian Republic shall remain valid in the Lithuanian Republic.
4. The present Act shall enter into force upon adoption.

V. LANDSBERGIS,  
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian Republic  
L. SABUTIS  
Secretary of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian Republic

Vilnius, March 11, 1990

## **DECREE**

### **of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic**

### **On the Status of the Enterprises, Institutions and Organizations under Union and Union-Republican Control on the Territory of Lithuania**

The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic hereby resolves:

1. All the state enterprises, institutions and organizations under

Union and Union-Republican control, present on the territory of Lithuania as of the day of the adoption of this decree, shall come under the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian Republic.

2. Official administration of all the said enterprises, institutions and organizations shall be entrusted to the Government of the Lithuanian Republic in accordance with the laws of the Lithuanian Republic.

3. The contracts of the enterprises of the Lithuanian Republic with their partners in the USSR shall remain valid.

4. The questions related to the take-over of the installations mentioned in Paragraph 1 of the present Decree shall be resolved by means of negotiations with the USSR.

V. LANDSBERGIS,  
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian Republic

Vilnius, March 13, 1990

## **DECREE of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic On Ending the Operation of the Military Commissariats of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR, Located on the Territory of the Lithuanian Republic**

The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic hereby resolves:

1. The operation of the Military Commissariats of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR, as institutions of a foreign state, present on the territory of the Lithuanian Republic, shall hereby be discontinued.

2. The Decree shall enter into force upon adoption.

V. LANDSBERGIS,  
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian Republic

Vilnius, March 14, 1990

# **DECREE of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic On the Drafting of Citizens of the Lithuanian Republic into the Armed Forces of the USSR**

The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic hereby deems it necessary to elucidate:

The laws of the Lithuanian Republic do not make it incumbent upon the citizens of Lithuania to serve in the Armed Forces of other states. However, as yet, they are not forbidden to serve either. Therefore, every citizen of the Lithuanian Republic, not considering himself a national of the USSR, is free to decide whether or not to serve in an army outside of the Lithuanian Republic. In accordance with the generally recognized legal provisions, a citizen of the Lithuanian Republic, forced to do military service in a foreign state must not be made to take an oath.

Compulsory drafting of citizens of the Lithuanian Republic into the Armed Forces of other States is unlawful under the legislation of the Republic since this is a coercive attempt at applying another State's laws which are not operative in Lithuania. Following the adoption on March 12, 1990, of the Act of the Lithuanian Republic "On the Invalidation of Some Articles of the Penal Code of the Lithuanian SSR and of the Code of the Lithuanian SSR on Administrative Delinquencies," the refusal to serve in the Armed Forces of the USSR does not entail any legal responsibility.

Attempts at making citizens of the Lithuanian Republic, who refuse to carry military service, to do it or holding them liable to legal responsibility under the USSR Conscription Act would inevitably contradict even this Act of the USSR since, under it, the military institutions, which carry out the conscription, may act only through the government bodies of a Union Republic. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic has, by its Decree of March 14, 1990, suspended the operation of the Military Commissariats of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR, while the Government of the Lithuanian Republic has, by its Decree, obliged the executive committees of the city and district

Soviets of People's Deputies to take no part in drafting anyone into the Soviet Army in 1990 and stop material provisioning of the commissariats and related financing. The circumstances thus created make it impossible for the government institutions of the Republic to take part and help in calling up the citizens of the Lithuanian Republic for service in the Armed Forces of the USSR and impermissible for Soviet Army servicemen to be actually involved in drafting young men for military service. Consequently, drafting citizens of the Lithuanian Republic and dispatching them to military establishments of the USSR for military service are a clear violation not only of the laws of both the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR but also of the human and civil rights enshrined in the acts of international law.

V. LANDSBERGIS,  
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian Republic

Vilnius, April 9, 1990

# PUBLIC REACTION

Various messages have been received by the Third Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. Here is one example:

"On behalf of a meeting of the Party activists of the Oktyabrsky District of Vilnius, we declare our protest against and disagreement with the decisions of the session of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania as being directed against the people and not expressing the interests of all the residents of the Republic. We call upon all the People's Deputies of the USSR to save the Soviet citizens residing in Lithuania from moral terrorism and to ensure their social and legal protection." It is signed by the First Secretary of the District Party Committee, on behalf of the meeting of Party activists, which was attended by 196 people.

Messages have also been received from veterans of the Great Patriotic War (1,899 all told), from Kaunas factory workers, servicemen and their families, and from other factories.

## AN APPEAL BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE CITIZENS OF THE USSR IN LITHUANIA

We appeal to you in a trying and bitter time for us, our kith and kin, indeed, for all the citizens of the Soviet Union.

The leaders of Sajūdis, who have established themselves in the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, virtually carried out an anti-constitutional coup on March 10-12, 1990. They have declared a break with the Soviet Union—our united, multinational homeland. They have been hurriedly passing unlawful legislative acts dismantling the Soviet system in the Republic and condemning working people to unjustified privation and hardship for the sake of satisfying the self-seeking ambitions of anti-socialist forces. In doing so, they have been arrogantly and hypocritically ignoring the interests of many thousands of citizens who are categorically opposed to being alienated from the peoples of the USSR and are convinced of the justice of the socialist option made in October 1917.

For decades we, people of various ethnic backgrounds, have lived on the soil of Lithuania and worked for the good of her peoples and the peoples of the whole of our country; we have contributed our knowledge and energies to the cause of building

a humane and democratic socialism, and are prepared to contribute more, working for the prosperity of a sovereign Soviet Lithuania as part of the renovated federation of Soviet peoples all enjoying equal rights.

While unconditionally supporting every nation's right to self-determination, to the extent of national secession, we express our firm conviction that there must be found a mechanism for its actual implementation that would ensure the full and proper exercise of the legitimate rights of the smallest nation, all ethnic groups and every human being.

Therefore, we wholly and entirely support the resolution of the special Third Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR concerning the decisions of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania of March 10-12, and express our hope and certitude that you, Comrade President, and you, Comrade Members of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, will ensure the instant and effective implementation of this document.

At the present time, there are no Deputies in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR who represent and defend our interests, our wants and aspirations. In the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania such deputies constitute an insignificant minority because of the anti-democratic character of the recent election campaign and the entire situation in the Republic. That is why we have formed a Committee of Citizens of the USSR in Lithuania, which we trust to represent and defend our interests. We ask you to discuss and decide all questions of Lithuania's future, that affect our interests, with this committee's indispensable and full participation.

We ask you to give an audience to representatives of this committee in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and let them speak at its session in the nearest future to set out our proposals.

Comrade President, Comrade Members of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR,

We believe and do hope that you, relying on the will and support of the entire Soviet people, will be able to defend your fellow citizens from the encroachments of political gamblers.

## *Extracts from Letters to Pravda*

Like everybody else, perhaps, I've been closely following reports from Lithuania. The Supreme Soviet of the Republic seems to have set out to rubberstamp as many laws as it can in order to break Lithuania's long-established ties with the Union.

Why so much haste? Indeed, it's not just paper work; there is the destiny of thousands of people at stake today.

I think the Appeal of the President of the USSR could not have come at a better time. The ultimatum and confrontational tactics that the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR has adopted will do no good. It is necessary to repeal all the Acts inconsistent with the Constitution of the USSR and resolve the problems built up in the Republic in what would then be a normal and businesslike context.

N. ZHUKOV,  
civil engineer

Moscow.

Reports from the Baltic region provoke concern over the future of our multinational state. I hold the decision by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, aimed at breaking that Republic's ties with the Soviet Union, to be irresponsible, rushed and ill-considered.

It plays into the hands only of those who have long hatched plans for breaking up the USSR and seek to sow the seeds of mistrust and discord among people of various ethnic backgrounds. I am sure that the separatist actions, far from resolving the problems, will make them yet more difficult to resolve. There is a Kazakh adage which says that "A bird's strength is in its wings, and a man's in his friendship." Only together, within the united commonwealth of the Soviet peoples, by building up economic, scientific, technological and other links, can we make perestroika a success. It is in the framework of the Soviet federation and in an atmosphere of confidence and mutual assistance that economic self-determination and sovereignty have to be worked for. Now, the bid of the present Lithuanian leadership to cross out with a sweep of the pen everything that has united us is a way to nowhere. President Gorbachev was perfectly right when he said in his appeal: a failure to heed the voice of reason may leave us all exposed to grave consequences.

S. DOSANOV,  
Writers' Union of the USSR

Alma-Ata

There is one image that has given me no peace of mind for a long time. There was a large family that lived in a big house for a long time. Children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren grew up there. There were quarrels and joys, as in any family. And then, one of the children suddenly decided that the way he had lived until now was no good. No good at all. He was

offended, ill-treated, so much so that he now had to strike out on his own. He set about sharing what had been common property, breaking up the house, so that nobody could prevent him living the way he liked... Perhaps, that was a just desire, but that's not the point I want to make. Why break up the whole common house, unmindful of the wishes of one's brothers and sisters? Does anybody stand to gain from that? A situation like this is a tragedy for a single family, even a large one. But what about a whole country?

I am totally behind the appeal of the President of the USSR to the people of the Lithuanian SSR, expressing the concern of all Soviet people over the situation that is taking shape in one of the constituent Republics.

N. SADULLAYEV, member  
of the Standing International  
Affairs Commission of the Supreme  
Soviet of the Uzbek SSR

Tashkent

I want to say right away that I am far from intending to teach a whole nation how it should live, still less so since we in Armenia have a host of our own problems to sort out.

The idea of independent existence is so understandable and natural that there seems to be nothing to argue about. To create a sovereign self-determined state is the historical dream of every people. The point is how to achieve it: by taking into account the realities as they are and the established political and economic structures or by setting it up overnight, crushing the obstacles you may find in your way. Historical experience shows that you cannot just declare independence. You have to go through a painful and complex process to bring it about.

I think everybody knows the effect of a *fait accompli*, that is, a situation where you have to reckon with an event that has taken place contrary to your wish. It is impossible to bring things back to square one. Yet to keep the process within the limits of the reasonable is as much of an historical necessity as to prevent the conflagration of war flaring up. It seems to me that we would all do well now to stop and look back for a while. The President of the USSR is right in his message—you cannot decide the destiny of the Lithuanian people on impulse.

G. VARTANYAN,  
Vice-Chairman,  
State Committee of the  
Armenian SSR for the  
Reception and Accommodation  
of Repatriating Armenians.

What is being done today by the leaders of Sajūdis who have established themselves in power—their stubborn reluctance to seek a mutually acceptable solution to the problems in a quiet and constructive dialogue with other Republics—is compounding alarm and uncertainty about Lithuania's immediate future.

Many of my workmates and myself know well a great number of workers at allied enterprises in Lithuania. We have spent years working side by side, as it were, helping each other and cooperating. So why this break? I find it hard to believe that this is really what those workers and engineers wish and that the Lithuanian leaders, now trampling upon the USSR Constitution, have been saying what the rank-and-file people really think today. Trading demagogically on political pluralism and the freedom of choice, they are toying with the lot of their own people, first and foremost, without any sense of responsibility.

I hope the common sense of Lithuanians and their sense of civic responsibility will prevail in the present-day dramatic situation. For in pursuit of their own interests and ambitions, politickers of Sajūdis are capable of steering the Lithuanian people into a dead-end and disarray. And then it will again be up to us and our children to look for a way out of the political and economic abyss.

O. PASHKOV,  
Chairman,  
Izmeron Leaseholders'  
Organization, Leningrad.

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Vytautas Statulevičus, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of Lithuania, member of the Central Committee of the independent Communist Party of Lithuania:

"Instead of sitting down at the negotiating table with us, they are offering the Republic a mechanism of secession. But we have never joined the USSR of our own free will, in the first place, and so this procedure is unacceptable to us. Still less so since throughout all these years the Lithuanian people have been paying their taxes to the union treasury on a par with everybody else. If you take the wealth, on average, per Soviet person, for 1.0, you will find it works out at only 0.87 for per Lithuanian. If that is so, why settle accounts at all?"

*(An answer to a query from the weekly *Sobesednik*)*

# **HEED THE VOICE OF REASON**

## **TELEGRAM**

V. LANDSBERGIS,  
Chairman, Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian SSR  
Supreme Soviet, Lithuanian SSR,  
Vilnius

I hereby send you a copy of the Resolution of the Special Third Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, adopted on March 15, 1990.

Inform us within three days of the measures that will be taken to implement this Resolution.

President of the USSR  
M. GORBACHEV

## **RESOLUTION of the Special Third Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR IN CONNECTION WITH THE DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE LITHUANIAN SSR ON MARCH 10-12, 1990**

On March 10-12, 1990, the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR announced the "restoration of the independence of the Lithuanian state" and the invalidity of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and of the Constitution of the USSR on the territory of the Republic.

While possessing the constitutional right to self-determination, a Union Republic cannot, however, ignore, when joining the federation or seceding from it, the political, socio-economic, territorial, legal or other problems that this causes.

The Congress of People's Deputies considers the above-

mentioned decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR to be null and void.

The Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR states that in accordance with Articles 74 and 75 of the USSR Constitution, the sovereignty of the Union and the Constitution of the USSR continue to be in force on the territory of Lithuania as a constituent Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR resolves the following:

1. Conforming the right of every Constituent Republic to free secession from the USSR (Article 72 of the Constitution of the USSR), the Congress rules that until the procedure and consequences of secession from the Soviet Union are established by law, the unilateral decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, in violation of Articles 74 and 75 of the USSR Constitution, shall be considered invalid.
2. The President of the USSR, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR shall be called upon to ensure, pending appropriate decision-making on the subject at issue, the protection of the legitimate rights of every individual residing in Lithuania, as well as the observance of the rights and interests of the USSR and of the constituent Republics on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.
3. The bodies of state authority and the government of the Lithuanian SSR shall take all the necessary measures to ensure that law and order are not violated on the territory of the Republic.

The Kremlin, Moscow  
March 15, 1990

## From the Constitution of the USSR

Article 74. The laws of the USSR are equally valid on the territory of all the Union Republics. In the event of an Act of a Union Republic diverging from national legislation, it is the latter that shall prevail.

Article 75. The territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is one and includes the territories of the Union Republics.

The sovereignty of the USSR applies to its entire territory.

**REPLY FROM THE SUPREME  
SOVIET OF THE  
LITHUANIAN REPUBLIC**  
**His Excellency M.S. GORBACHEV,**  
**President of the Union of Soviet  
Socialist Republics**  
**The Kremlin, Moscow**

Honorable President,

In reply to your request to be informed about the attitude of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic to the Resolution of March 15, 1990, of the Special Third Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, I have the following to communicate:

1. The Congress decision about the invalidity of the decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic is devoid of legal ground.
2. Human rights in Lithuania are guaranteed by the laws of the Lithuanian Republic, which correspond to the universally recognized international standards and agreements, and are safeguarded by the Government and the courts of the Lithuanian Republic. The legitimate interests of the USSR in Lithuania must be specified through negotiation, and they will be carefully observed by the Lithuanian Republic.
3. The Lithuanian State is taking the necessary measures to ensure that law and order on the territory of the Lithuanian Republic are not violated.

I would like to take this opportunity to draw your attention, the Honorable President, to the fact that some of the speeches made at the Third Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR on March 15, 1990, and broadcast by the national television of the Soviet Union were at variance with the actual state of affairs and constituted acts of interference. We have always believed and do believe that all problems of relations between states must be resolved only by political means, setting the greatest store by the values of peace and goodwill.

Truly and respectfully yours  
V. LANDSBERGIS,  
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian Republic

March 18, 1990

# **APPEALS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE LITHUANIAN SSR AND TO THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE LITHUANIAN SSR**

## **APPEAL BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE USSR TO THE PEOPLE OF THE LITHUANIAN SSR**

Dear citizens of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, I am addressing you at a difficult time for our country.

The March 11 decisions of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet have brought all of us to a critical point.

The attempts being taken by the incumbent Lithuanian leadership to immediately break the Republic's ties with the Soviet Union and its tactics of unilateral and ultimative actions endanger the normal life and security of all people in the Republic, Lithuanians and non-Lithuanians, and are a cause of grave concern in the country.

Is it normal when amendments to the Constitution, resolving the destiny of the Republic and its people and concerning the interests of the entire country, are adopted in haste, without consultations and discussions, actually within one night?

The Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies urged the Supreme Soviet of the Republic to renounce political recklessness. The Lithuanian leadership responded to this appeal for common sense with the escalation of irresponsible and illegitimate decisions.

This counterposes Lithuania to other constituent republics and the whole of the Soviet Union and undermines the historically established ties and cooperation between our peoples.

The actions being taken in Lithuania have no logical foundation. They are being taken at a time when we have begun to resolve vital issues of the Soviet federation on a really democratic basis.

What is our position? It is the sincere adherence to the ideas of the free and original development of all peoples of our country, and respect for their legitimate rights to self-determination and sovereignty. This fully refers to the Lithuanian people, too.

Now attempts are being made to convince you that genuine sovereignty within the Soviet Union, without breaking away from it, is impossible. Simultaneously, old grudges are being purposefully kindled and the dark sides of joint life are being emphasized.

Indeed, our past includes many things that we are mutually rejecting. And this refers not only to the Lithuanian people. But no one can say that in the years of perestroika any people in our country has been deliberately elevated or purposefully humiliated.

We have for years lived in one home. Does the past time deserve only bad words? Have the Lithuanian literature and poetry, theatre and cinema, music and architecture, education and sports faced and got lost in the multicolored Soviet culture?

Was it not in the mutual work and with the fraternal aid from other republics that your industry and agriculture have been developing? Did Lithuania itself not extend a helping hand to other peoples in times of trouble?

Did the Lithuanian citizens not support the USSR Constitution, by which Lithuania abided for years honestly and strictly as a fully-fledged republic?

The incumbent Lithuanian leaders are trying to convince you that their separatist actions will not affect the economic, scientific, technical and other ties with the other republics of the USSR.

But this is not so, because all these ties can develop normally and yield fruits only in a favorable atmosphere of confidence and mutual assistance and not in the situation of confrontation, ultimatums, disrespect for one another and ethnic strife.

The pointed disrespect for the USSR Constitution, the challenge to Soviet laws and the non-implementation of Union obligations give rise to just indignation all over the country.

The President of the USSR, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government are receiving numerous letters and telegrams expressing utter concern and perplexity in connection with the developments in Lithuania.

People demand that the USSR Constitution be defended and that the Union be protected from the harm caused by the actions of separatists. They propose that effective economic, political and administrative measures be taken.

People in Byelorussia and Kaliningrad Region are raising the issue of returning territories transferred to Lithuania after it joined the USSR.

In general, the situation in the Republic and around it has become dramatic. If the voice of reason is not heeded now, developments can have grave consequences for all of us. We must be united in striving to prevent this.

I have appealed to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, proposing that it immediately annul the illegal acts it has adopted. This will open a possibility for discussing the entire range of problems on the solely acceptable basis within the framework of the USSR Constitution.

I am expressing hope that my appeal will be supported by the citizens of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

(*Pravda*, April 1, 1990)

M. Gorbachev

## APPEAL BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE USSR TO THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE LITHUANIAN SSR

The incumbent Lithuanian leadership does not heed the voice of reason. It continues to ignore the decision of the Third Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies and is taking unilateral steps that run counter to the USSR Constitution and that are openly challenging and insulting to the entire Union.

I want to declare yet again that this road is ruinous and will only lead to a dead end.

I urge the deputies of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet to understand this truth and their historical responsibility for the interests of the people of Lithuania—Lithuanians and non-Lithuanians, for their security and wellbeing, for the destiny of democracy in the whole of our country and of stability in the world.

I propose that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet immediately annul the illegal acts it has adopted. Such a step will open a possibility for discussing the entire range of problems on the solely acceptable basis—within the framework of the USSR Constitution.

(*Pravda*, April 1, 1990)

M. Gorbachev

# TO THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE LITHUANIAN SSR AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE LITHUANIAN SSR

Artificially and illicitly provoked by the Lithuanian leadership, the issue of the Republic's position in the federal state tightens into an ever tighter knot, assuming the nature of a political dead end.

Despite constructive and well-considered measures by the Supreme bodies of state authority of the USSR, which would enhance Lithuanian sovereignty within the constitutional framework, the Republic's leadership continues to adopt legislative acts and decisions that set Lithuanian SSR in opposition to other republics and the Soviet Union as a whole.

On April 5, for instance, a law was adopted, 'On identity cards for citizens of the Lithuanian Republic' that discriminates against Soviet citizens who are willing to live and work in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the USSR.

The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's decision to halt spring conscription activities in the Republic is a flagrant violation of the USSR Law on general military service.

Contrary to the USSR Council of Ministers' resolution 'On measures to protect the property of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR,' republican authorities are making illegitimate attempts to seize this property.

Such actions, the list of which continues, can no longer be tolerated. They aim to undermine political and socio-economic stability in the country, damage democratic processes, and seriously infringe on Soviet citizens' rights.

Other constituent republics are asking quite aptly why they should continue supplying products to Lithuania at the expense of their own needs, while the latter's steering agencies continue their anti-constitutional actions and disregard the rightful interests of the integral national economy and the country's citizens.

In this situation, we are compelled to issue the following warning:

If the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR do not rescind the above decisions within the next two days, instructions will be given to stop supplies to the Lithuanian SSR from other constituent republics of those cate-

gories of products that are sold on external markets for freely convertible currency.

We do not want things to go as far as these measures, but the situation now fully depends on the Lithuanian leadership.

At the same time, we reaffirm once again that we are looking to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers to take decisions that will restore the Republic's position to that of March 10, 1990. This would make it possible to begin dealing with the entire package of issues without delay.

USSR President  
Mikhail Gorbachev

Chairman of the USSR  
Council of Ministers  
Nikolai Ryzhkov

(*Pravda*, April 14, 1990)

## WAYS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM

The decision on secession of a Union republic from the USSR shall be taken by the exercise of free will of the peoples of the Union republic through a referendum (popular vote). . .

On the initiative of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of a seceding republic, the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR shall establish a transitional period of not more than five years, during which the questions arising from a republic's secession from the USSR should be solved.

## LAW OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON THE PROCEDURE OF SETTLING PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE SECESSION OF A UNION REPUBLIC FROM THE USSR

Article 1. The procedure for secession by a Union republic from the USSR in accordance with Article 72 of the Constitution of the USSR shall be established by this Law.

**Article 2.** The decision on secession of a Union republic from the USSR shall be taken by the exercise of free will of the peoples of the Union republic through a referendum (popular vote). The decision on the holding of a referendum shall be taken by the Supreme Soviet of a Union republic at its own initiative or on the basis of a petition signed by one-tenth of the citizens of the USSR who permanently reside on the territory of the republic and have the right to vote in accordance with the Laws of the USSR.

A referendum shall be held in accordance with the Law of the USSR or the Law of a Union or autonomous republic on referendums unless its provisions contradict this Law.

A referendum shall be conducted by secret ballot not earlier than six months and not later than nine months after the adoption of a decision to raise the question of secession from the USSR by a Union republic.

Citizens of the USSR who have permanent residence in the territory of the republic by the time of the raising of the question of its secession and who have the right to vote in accordance with the Laws of the USSR shall participate in the referendum.

No agitation on the question put up for a referendum shall be allowed during voting.

**Article 3.** In a Union republic that incorporates autonomous republics, autonomous regions and autonomous territories, a referendum shall be held in each autonomous area separately. The population of autonomous republics and other autonomous areas shall have the right to independently decide the question of remaining within the USSR or seceding from their Union republic, as well as the right to raise the question of their statehood and legal status.

In conducting a referendum in a Union republic on whose territory there are areas inhabited by ethnic groups which constitute a majority in these areas, the results of voting in these areas shall be counted separately.

**Article 4.** To organize a referendum on secession from the USSR, set a date for its holding and sum up its results, the Supreme Soviet of a Union republic shall set up a commission with the participation of representatives of all sides concerned, including those mentioned in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 3 of this Law.

**Article 5.** To guarantee the peoples of a Union republic full freedom of expression in preparing, holding and counting the

result of a referendum on secession from the USSR, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall decide in cooperation with the Supreme Soviet of the Union republic the question of the presence on its territory of observers representing the USSR, Union and autonomous republics and other autonomous territories. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR may invite representatives of the United Nations to the territory of a republic for the period of voting.

Article 6. A decision on secession by a Union republic from the USSR shall be considered passed if it has received the votes of at least two-thirds of the citizens of the USSR who have permanent residence on the territory of the republic by the time of the raising of the question of its secession from the USSR and who have the right to vote in accordance with the laws of the USSR.

The results of the referendum shall be examined by the Supreme Soviet of the Union republic.

In a Union republic incorporating autonomous republics, autonomous regions, autonomous areas or territories inhabited predominantly by minority ethnic groups mentioned in Paragraph 2 of Article 3 of this Law, the results of the referendum shall be examined by the Supreme Soviet of the Union republic jointly with the Supreme Soviet of the autonomous republic and the corresponding Soviets of People's Deputies.

Article 7. The Supreme Soviet of a Union republic shall present the results of the referendum to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The Supreme Soviet of a Union republic incorporating autonomous republics and other autonomous structures or areas inhabited predominantly by minority ethnic groups mentioned in Paragraph 2 of Article 3 of this Law shall present the results of the referendum for each autonomous republic and each autonomous territory or area populated predominantly by a minority ethnic group along with conclusions and proposals by corresponding state power bodies.

Should it be established that a referendum has been conducted in accordance with law, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall submit the question for consideration by a Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

Should it be discovered that the law was violated in conducting a referendum, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall call a new referendum within three months throughout the entire territory of the republic or in part of its territory, or in an autonomous territory, or in an area populated by a minority

ethnic community mentioned in Paragraph 2 of Article 3 of this Law.

Article 8. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall deliver within one month the results of a referendum on secession of a Union republic from the USSR and proposals submitted by the sides concerned to the highest bodies of state power of all Union and autonomous republics and the bodies of state power of the autonomous territories for analysis and evaluation of the consequences of possible secession of the Union republic from the USSR for each Union and autonomous republic and each autonomous territory.

Article 9. The results of a referendum in a Union republic on secession from the USSR and the opinions of the highest bodies of state power of the Union and autonomous republics and the bodies of state power of the autonomous regions and areas on this question shall be considered by a Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. On the initiative of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of a seceding republic, the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR shall establish a transitional period of not more than five years, during which the questions arising from a republic's secession from the USSR should be solved.

The Constitution of the USSR and the laws of the USSR shall remain effective on the territory of seceding republic during the transitional period.

Article 10. In the case that no decision is taken on the results of a referendum on a Union republic's secession from the USSR, a new referendum on this question may be held not sooner than 10 years after the holding of the previous referendum.

Article 11. To ensure the rights and interests of the USSR, the seceding and other Union republics as well as the Autonomous Republics, autonomous territories and ethnic groups mentioned in Paragraph 2 of Article 3 of this Law in resolving the questions arising from a republic's secession from the USSR, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics and the highest body of state power of the seceding republic shall form conciliatory commissions for the transitional period.

Article 12. During the transitional period, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, with the participation of the government of a seceding republic, shall draft proposals on questions concerning the national border of the USSR and military facilities and units of the Soviet Armed Forces stationed on the territory

of the seceding republic and submit them to the President of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which later shall submit them to a Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

Article 13. The seceding republic must observe the universally accepted principles and standards of international law as well as human rights and freedoms laid down in the international treaties signed by the USSR. The question of participation of a seceding republic in multilateral treaties signed by the USSR and open for other countries shall be decided in accordance with the conditions established by an appropriate treaty. The multilateral and bilateral treaties signed by the USSR and effective at the moment of a republic's secession from the USSR shall remain effective with regard to the seceding republic if no contradictory agreement has been signed.

After the examination and settlement of all questions arising from the participation of the USSR in international treaties in connection with secession of a Union republic from the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR shall submit its decision to the President of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Article 14. In the transitional period the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the bodies of state administration of the Union and autonomous republics and autonomous territories, in conjunction with the government of a seceding republic, shall consider and settle questions concerning property and material and financial accounts.

The following questions should be resolved during the transitional period between a seceding republic, on the one hand, and the USSR and the other Union republics, autonomous republics, autonomous territories and ethnic groups mentioned in Paragraph 2 of Article 3 of this Law, on the other:

(1) the future of all-Union property on the territory of the republic (enterprises and complexes in the basic industries, space research, power engineering, communications, sea, railway and air transport, communication lines, trunk pipelines, the property of the Armed Forces of the USSR, defense and other facilities) and the property of all-Union public organizations;

(2) the financial and credit accounts of a seceding republic with the USSR and the relations between banks;

(3) property, financial and credit relations between the seceding republic and other Union and Autonomous Republics and autonomous territories;

(4) the procedure of fulfilment by the enterprises and organ-

isations of the seceding republic of the obligations they undertook earlier with regard to enterprises and organisations situated on the territory of other Union republics, autonomous republics and autonomous territories;

(5) the legal status and forms of payments of joint enterprises or affiliate enterprises organised on the basis of all-Union property or the property of other Union Republics, autonomous republics and autonomous territories;

(6) the procedure of settling accounts with other countries and international organisations on credits and loans taken for the construction of projects on the territory of the seceding republic or for supplying the needs of this republic and its population as well as on the parts of credits and loans spent on the implementation of all-Union purchases and programmes used by the seceding republic;

(7) the status of territories which were not part of the seceding republic at the time of its becoming part of the USSR;

(8) the status of territories populated by predominant ethnic groups mentioned in Paragraph 2 of Article 3 of this Law, taking into account the results of their voting in a referendum;

(9) guarantees of the preservation and maintenance of historical and cultural monuments and graves on the territory of the seceding republic;

(10) other questions requiring mutual settlement.

Article 15. Citizens of the USSR living on the territory of a seceding republic shall have the right to choose citizenship, place of residence and place of employment. The seceding republic shall compensate all the losses resulting from the resettlement of citizens leaving the republic.

Article 16. In line with the generally recognised principles and norms of international law, as well as the USSR's international obligations, the seceding republic shall ensure the civil, political, social, economic, cultural and all other rights and freedoms of those Soviet citizens who choose to stay in its territory, with no discrimination whatsoever on the grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other convictions, ethnic or social background, property status, or date or place of birth.

Article 17. Those citizens of the seceding republic who have been tried and sentenced by its courts and are serving their sentence in the territory of the USSR shall be extradited to serve their remaining term in the above republic.

Those citizens of the seceding republic who have been tried

and sentenced by the courts of the USSR or another constituent republic and are serving their sentence in the territory of the USSR shall be extradited to serve their remaining term in the above republic if they have committed their crimes, for which they have been tried and sentenced, in the territory of this republic.

Issues related to the extradition of those citizens of the seceding republic who have been tried and sentenced by the courts of the USSR or another constituent republic for cases in which at least one of their crimes for which they have been sentenced has been committed outside the territory of the seceding republic shall be considered by the USSR Supreme Court as represented by the USSR Procurator General or at the request of the seceding republic's Supreme Court.

Soviet citizens, foreign nationals and stateless persons who have been tried and sentenced by the courts of the USSR or any constituent republic and are serving their sentence in the territory of the seceding republic shall be extradited to the USSR.

Article 18. All administrative and criminal cases instituted for the reason of violations of the law in the territory of the seceding republic and being considered by the relevant bodies of the USSR shall be transferred via the USSR Procurator's Office or the USSR Supreme Court into the care of the relevant bodies of the seceding republic. This rule shall not apply to those cases where at least one offence has been committed outside the territory of the seceding republic, not to those criminal cases which fall under the jurisdiction of court-martials. The transfer of cases shall be decided by the USSR Procurator General as represented by a lower procurator or at the request of the procurator of the seceding republic, and, should the cases be considered by courts, the decision on the transfer shall be passed by the USSR Supreme Court.

During the transitional period, all civil cases shall be decided in line with civil law and the law of civil procedure of the USSR, unless stipulated otherwise in the treaty concluded between the seceding republic and the USSR.

Article 19. During the last year of the transitional period, the supreme body of state authority of the seceding republic may initiate one additional referendum in order to substantiate the decision of the constituent republic to secede from the USSR. The referendum shall be made obligatory in the case that it is demanded by one-tenth of those Soviet citizens permanently residing in the territory of the republic and having the right to vote as stipulated by the law of the USSR.

In the case that the decision of the constituent republic to secede from the USSR is approved by less than two-thirds of those Soviet citizens who are permanently residing in the territory of the republic at the time when the issue of staging the referendum was raised and who have the right to vote as stipulated by the law of the USSR, the decision of this constituent republic to secede from the USSR shall be considered as null and void, and all procedures as stipulated by this Law shall be suspended.

Article 20. Upon the completion of the transitional period or in the case that all issues as stipulated by this Law are settled before the term, the USSR Supreme Soviet shall convene a Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR in order to adopt a decision to verify the completion of the process aimed at harmonising the interests and satisfying the claims of the seceding republic, on the one hand, and of the USSR, constituent republics, as well as autonomous republics, autonomous entities and ethnic groups, mentioned in Paragraph 2 of Article 3 of this Law, on the other hand.

As of the date of the adoption of such decision by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, the secession of the constituent republic from the USSR shall be considered accomplished, and the USSR People's Deputies representing the republic that has seceded shall lose their authority.

The Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR shall amend the USSR Constitution accordingly.

President  
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
Mikhail Gorbachev

Signed on April 3, 1990, in the Kremlin, Moscow.

## **RESOLUTION OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET On Putting into Force the USSR Law “On the Procedure of Settling Problems Connected with the Secession of a Union Republic from the USSR”**

By decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet,

1. The USSR Law “On the Procedure of Settling Problems,

**Connected with the Secession of a Union Republic from the USSR" shall be put into force immediately upon publication.**

**2. Any moves, connected with the raising of the issue of a Union republic's secession from the USSR, going against the USSR Law "On the Procedure of Settling Problems, Connected with the Secession of a Union Republic from the USSR," and taken before or after its coming into force, shall not entail any juridical consequences for the USSR or for the Union republics.**

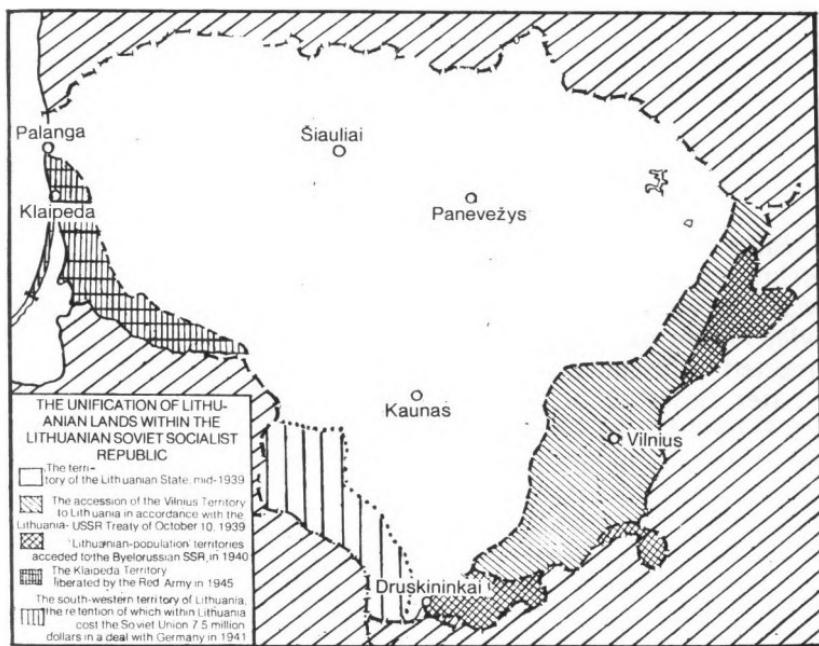
**3. The Supreme Soviets of the Union republics shall bring the legislation of the Union republics in accordance with the USSR Law "On the Procedure of Settling Problems, Connected with the Secession of a Union Republic from the USSR."**

**Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet  
Anatoly Lukyanov**

**Moscow, Kremlin, April 3, 1990.**

# LITHUANIAN LAND

(Source: the History and Diplomatic Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry)



**1. Wilno (Vilnius) and Wilenski Region.** Under the October 10, 1939 treaty on handing over to the Lithuanian Republic of the city of Wilno and Wilenski Region and on mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and Lithuania, the Soviet Union handed over to Lithuania the city of Wilno and Wilenski Region. The size of the territory handed over was 6,656 sq. km with a population of 457,000. Lithuanians were in the minority, in the order of 100,000, the rest of the population in that territory at the time being mostly Poles, Byelorussians, and Jews.

Incidentally, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissioners of the USSR, V. M. Molotov, told the 5th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on October 31, 1939 that the population of Lithuania had allegedly increased by 550,000 as a result of its acquisition of Wilno and Wilenski Region.

However, the said figures, which were at one time cited by the

USSR People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, show that Molotov "unilaterally" increased the population of Wilno and Wilenski Region by a little less than 100,000.

**2. Byelorussian regions with a mixed Byelorussian and Lithuanian population.** On July 12, 1920, Soviet Russia and Lithuania signed a Peace Treaty, with its Article 2 giving a description of the Soviet-Lithuanian border. According to it, Grodno, Lida and Oszmiany, as well as Wilno and Wilenski Region, became part of Lithuania.

On October 27, 1939, in keeping with Article 1 of the said Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty of October 10, 1939, the Soviet Union and the Lithuanian republic signed an additional protocol delimiting the border. Under Paragraph 3 of the Protocol it replaced Article 2 of the July 12, 1920 Peace Treaty between Russia and Lithuania, which delimited the Soviet-Lithuanian border, and established a new frontier.

Under that Protocol, a Joint Soviet-Lithuanian Border Commission was set up. Between November of 1939 and April of 1940 it was concerned with the demarcation of the border between the Soviet Union and Lithuania. During that work, the border was corrected in favour of Lithuania at some sections.

Later, however, on the motion of Byelorussia, under the August 3, 1940 Soviet law which made Lithuania part of the Soviet Union, the Swienciany District and "parts of territory with a predominantly Lithuanian population of the Vidzovsky, Godutishkovsky, Ostrovetsky, Voronovsky and Radunsky districts of Byelorussia" were to be ceded to Lithuania. The same law provided that the Supreme Soviets of Byelorussia and Lithuania should submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet a draft delimiting an exact border between these republics.

On October 1-2, 1940, talks were held in Grodno between representatives of Byelorussia and Lithuania on the matter.

They produced a draft for establishing an exact border, which—changing the August 3, 1940 Law—stopped short of making the Ostrovetsky District part of Lithuania, as the district had no places with a predominantly Lithuanian population.

Instead, Lithuania received several localities in the Porechsky and Svirsky Districts with a predominantly Lithuanian population.

Under the draft, Byelorussia ceded to Lithuania 3,000 sq. km with a population of 81,885, including 53,601 Lithuanians, 8,916 Byelorussians, 3,755 Poles, and 15,613 people of other ethnic backgrounds.

The draft was endorsed by the November 6, 1940 Decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

**3. South-western Lithuania**, which, under the September 28,

1939 Soviet-German secret additional protocol, was to be annexed by Germany, ultimately remained part of Lithuania under the January 10, 1941 Soviet-German secret protocol. For this, the Soviet government paid Germany 7.5 million dollars in gold (DM31.5 million). According to Soviet figures, it was 3,198 sq. km in area.

As of December of 1939, of the local population of 184,000, 82.3 percent were Lithuanians, 7.6 percent Jews, 7.3 percent Germans, 1.8 percent Poles, and 0.9 percent Russians.

**4. Memel Region (Klaipeda Territory).** Under the June 28, 1919 Treaty of Versailles (Article 99), Germany ceded all rights to Memel Region in favor of the principal allied and united powers.

In 1920-1923, the region was occupied by French troops and was administered by the Entente countries. The Lithuanian government demanded that Memel (Klaipeda) should belong to Lithuania.

On February 16, 1923, the Ambassadors' Conference decided that Lithuania should be given sovereign rights to Memel and Memel Region on certain conditions: autonomy for Memel Region, free transit and use of the Memel port by Poland, the establishment of the status of Memel Region, and the conclusion of a convention to the effect.

The Convention on Memel Region and the Statute giving it a large measure of autonomy, signed in Paris on May 8, 1924, sealed the transfer of Memel Region to Lithuania.

However, the March 22, 1939 German-Lithuanian treaty on the reunification of Memel Region with Germany made the Region part of the German Reich. As of January 1, 1939, it had a population of 153,793, with 64,281 of these being Germans.

In August of 1940, Lithuania joined the Soviet Union without Klaipeda and Klaipeda Territory, which at the time were part of Germany.

It was not until January 28, 1945 that Klaipeda (Memel) was liberated by the First Baltic Army Group.

The Supreme Commander Order of January 28, 1945, read:

"On January 28, the troops of the First Baltic Army Group went on the offensive and took the Lithuanian city of Klaipeda (Memel), an important port and stronghold of the Germans on the Baltic, thus rounding off the liberation of Soviet Lithuania from the Nazi invaders." It should be said that the question of Memel was brought up also at the Teheran meeting between Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt from November 28 to December 1, 1943, and in the Crimea, February 4-11, 1945. The Western powers did not object to the Soviet Union's acquiring Memel and Koenigsberg. The Soviet government, considering Lithuania a member of the

federation of the Soviet republics, made Memel part of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

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Regarding general information on the territory and population of Lithuania, the Soviet Encyclopedia published in 1938, i.e. prior to Lithuania's transfer of Klaipeda Territory to Germany, says that Lithuania occupied a territory of 55,670 sq. km. According to the census of 1936, it supported a population of 2.5 million, including about 150,000 in Klaipeda Territory. According to the Soviet Encyclopedia published in 1949, i.e. after World War II, the territory of Lithuania was 65,200 sq.km. The same figure is cited in the 1989 Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary, which puts the population at 3,641,000.

## **STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE BYELORUSSIAN SSR**

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR has made a statement addressed to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, which says:

Those in Lithuania who are making attempts to put the Constitution of Lithuania of May 12, 1938 into effect should keep in mind that the territory of the Lithuanian Republic was entirely different in 1938 and it was only as a result of the resolutions of the highest bodies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that primordially Byelorussian territories were transferred over to the Lithuanian Republic and the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. If the Lithuanian SSR withdraws from the USSR, the Byelorussian SSR will not consider itself to be bound by all the laws, decrees and other acts concerning the transfer of part of Byelorussian lands to Lithuania.

The acts on the territorial issues between the Byelorussian SSR and the Lithuanian SSR were based on the Law of the USSR Supreme Soviet of August 3, 1940 'On Admitting the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' which has now been unilaterally declared invalid by the Lithuanian side.

The latter thereby assumes responsibility for the fact that Item 2 of the aforesaid Law of the USSR Supreme Soviet of August 3, 1940 concerning the transfer of Sventsyany and part of the territory of the Vidzy, Godutishki, Ostrovets, Voronovo and Ra-

dun districts of the Byelorussian SSR to the Lithuanian SSR, as well as the corresponding presentation of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet 'On Establishing Borders between the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic' of November 6, 1940, adopted on this basis, lose force.

In the event of withdrawal of the Lithuanian SSR from the USSR the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR will have to revise the resolutions, adopted by it, on the administrative-territorial structure of the respective regions of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic which ensued from the aforesaid acts.

Furthermore, taking into consideration the statement by the Lithuanian authorities on their unpreparedness to fully comply with the 'Treaty on the Transfer of the City of Vilno and Vilno Area to the Lithuanian Republic and on Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Lithuania' concluded between the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the President of the Lithuanian Republic on October 10, 1939, the question of further validity of the territorial changes in favour of Lithuania arises.

Alongside everything else, the aforesaid treaty affected the interests of the Byelorussian population living on this territory which was under Soviet jurisdiction from the second half of September 1939. It was concluded without the Byelorussian SSR's knowledge and consent.

Besides that, it should not be forgotten that the conclusion of this treaty ensues from the secret agreements in connection with the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact of August 23, 1939 which, in accordance with the norms of international law, lost its force at the moment of Germany's attack on the USSR, i.e., on June 22, 1941, as it is pointed out in the resolution by the Congress of People's Deputies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of December 24, 1989.

The Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR also condemned the fact of the signing of the 'secret additional protocol' to the treaty of August 23, 1939 and other secret accords with Germany. The Congress recognised the secret protocols as juridically invalid and having lost their force from the moment of their signing.

In connection with the aforesaid, we will insist on the return of the Byelorussian lands to the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the statement says.

# **LITHUANIAN ECONOMY**

## **(Based on the interview given by Yuri Maslyukov, First Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the State Planning Committee)**

The efforts to rectify mistakes made in ethnic relations and ensure genuine sovereignty and equality of all the constituent republics at a firm legal basis within a federation agree with the historically established ties between the peoples of the USSR and mirror the integration processes that characterize the world's social development today.

Against this background the calls for secession from the USSR made in some republics may seem discordant. However, such calls have their reasons: it is the administrative-command system, which has been condemned by society and the Party, excessive ministerial control, which considerably restricts the independence of the constituent republics, and the Stalinist policy of nationalities, under which national sovereignty became practically non-existent. Among the other contributing causes are the efforts to belittle the ethnic factor in the development of the Union, emphasis on obliteration of ethnic distinctions, subjective interpretation of the history of some peoples and differences in the assessment of the incorporation of some republics into the Soviet Union.

However, limiting ourselves to just listing these distortions of the nationalities policy would mean taking a simplistic view of the situation and admitting bias in the analysis and evaluation of the processes taking place in our multilingual and multi-ethnic country. Focusing attention only on mutual grievances and escalation of tension in ethnic relations lead to new dangerous upheavals.

The advocates of Lithuania's independence from the USSR are trying to prove that during the years of Soviet rule the republic has stood still in its development and that secession is the only possibility for a breakthrough to progress.

Let us analyze the situation without bias. Let us recall what Lithuania was like in 1940. Perhaps it was not the best year for the Soviet Union, but even in this case industrial production in the "13th Soviet republic"—Lithuania—was three times less than

the national average. Almost 74 percent of Lithuania's population were engaged in agriculture and just a little over seven percent were employed in industry, which manufactured simple agricultural equipment and some consumer goods.

Bourgeois Lithuania was one of the least developed countries in Europe in terms of such a general indicator as per capita national income. In terms of per capita national income it was far behind neighbouring Latvia and Estonia.

Unemployment and emigration were the plight of the nation.

Industrial output in Lithuania has increased 84 times since 1940. In 1988 Lithuania's per capita national income totalled 2,427 rubles, whereas the average national per capita income is 2,210 rubles. Nearly 50,000 million rubles have been invested in the Lithuanian economy during Soviet years and investment growth rates in Lithuania have exceeded by far those of the Soviet Union as a whole. In 1988 capital investments in Lithuania totalled 3,200 million rubles.

Nearly a third of all investments in the economy after the Second World War have been used to strengthen the material and technological basis of agriculture.

New industries have been created in Lithuania, such as machine-tool building, ship-building, electrical engineering, electronics and radio electronics, chemical and petrochemical, and the fishing industry has been modernized. Factories and plants have been built in Lithuania which other republics wanted to be built on their territory. Industrialization ensured Lithuania faster industrial growth rates than in the other republics.

The Lithuanian economy is closely linked with the development of all the constituent republics. It is part of the territorial division of labor. In 103 industries taken into account in the inter-branch balance Lithuania imports 101 items and exports 83 items.

With almost no fuel and energy resources of its own, Lithuania supplies 75 percent of its needs in fuel and electricity from other regions of the country.

According to the latest national statistics, Lithuania imports from the other republics 7,500 million rubles worth of goods and exports goods worth 6,000 million rubles. These figures indicate that Lithuania's imports exceed its exports by nearly 1,500 million rubles.

These facts show how closely the Soviet republics are tied with one another and how much harm Lithuania's withdrawal from the national economy may do to Lithuania and the country as a whole.

Integration is a natural and the only possible process in condition of scientific and technological progress. All countries are trying to resolve their problems by arranging closer cooperation with one another. Such cooperation is particularly important within a single state.

The Elfa plant in Vilnius, for example, which makes low-capacity electric engines, supplies almost all its output to the other regions of the country. It co-operates with 790 consumer organizations and 520 supplier plants. Nearly 16 million rubles are to be invested in the development of this plant by the end of the current five-year plan period, of which 12.3 million rubles will come from the centralized national funds. Besides, we have allocated the plant an equivalent of nine million rubles of hard currency for the purchase of foreign equipment in 1989-1990.

Here is another example. Twenty-one out of 24 Lithuania-based defense-related plants manufacturing consumer goods and components for them have no analogues anywhere in the Soviet Union. One can easily imagine what a severance of their traditional industrial and economic ties mean for the Soviet economy and the working people of Lithuania.

Is it just the problem of factories and plants or the amount of meat which Lithuania supplies to the country or grain which it receives from the national granary? It is the question of the future of a whole people and its ties with the natural social and economic environment of which it has become a part during the 50 years of living together with the other peoples of the USSR.

One should also bear in mind that during the years of its existence within the USSR Lithuania has become integrated with all the other Union republics. That is why a severance of the established ties will seriously affect their interests too. So I should say without beating about the bush that the Union has a responsibility to all the republics and a duty to protect them from possible negative consequences of any arbitrary actions. It is its constitutional duty.

The existence of a single economic system in the country poses the question of division of state property. It can only be resolved on the basis of the national Law on Ownership and the national and Union republic legislation on land. The ownership law regards as state property many objects and enterprises that were built, financed and developed in the interest of the whole country. These are defense plants ensuring the country's security and protection of its borders; enterprises in the Group A and defense industries, power engineering projects, machine-building plants and other infrastructure of national importance. These are

also trunk railways and roads, ships and aircraft, sea ports, airports, pipelines, transmission lines and communications. Any arbitrary action with regard to these facilities would paralyze many industries and cause many people to lose their jobs.

There are several ways to decide the future of these objects, if such a problem arises: a republic may buy out property or rent it from the Union; the Union may dismantle a project and move it to other republics; property may stay where it is and an agreement may be signed giving the Union bodies the power to manage it. Lastly, there is a possibility of arranging joint production and sale of output on the basis of mutually agreed shares, prices, wages, etc. The cost of objects of national importance on the territory of Lithuania that may require compensation is 5.5 to 7 billion rubles.

Is the compensation demand legitimate? You can judge for yourself. This is how the Lithuanian economy compared with the national economy in terms of the national income produced and used. According to the State Statistical Committee, during the past two decades the national income used for consumption and accumulation in Lithuania exceeded the republic's national income by over 5,000 million rubles in current prices.

A major question that can't be ignored is that of ensuring the economic interests of the USSR and other sides with regard to the use of transport lines that pass through the territory of Lithuania and have international significance. International law knows of many instances when transport mainlines are used for production capacities built by foreign companies on the territory of different countries.

The main task here is that of ensuring continuity of railways and roads, communications and transmission lines. This is all the more important since electricity, raw materials and consumer goods are delivered to the Kaliningrad Region of the Russian Federation through Lithuania.

Annual railway carryings for this region alone total 12 million tons and export and import deliveries through the Kaliningrad sea-port amount to 2.4 million tons.

There is a transport line of special importance for the Soviet Union's international ties. It is a ferry service between the Soviet port of Klaipeda and the East German port of Mukran. It carries up to 5.3 million tons of cargoes a year, which is a large part of the cargoes delivered through the Klaipeda sea-port. What should be done to ensure that this service continues to operate without damage to the USSR or any Soviet republic or East Germany?

Yet another acute problem is the use of airspace over the territory of the republic, which is the main corridor linking Moscow and even the Far East with Western Europe and America.

A disruption of ties between Lithuania and the Soviet Union would require a special discussion of the question of mutual accounts on deliveries of materials and technology and finished products. Other republics would inevitably demand a review of the prices in trade operations. In fact, they would promptly demand the use of world prices in mutual accounts.

Each year Lithuania receives imported products worth between 1,000 million and 1,500 million rubles in domestic prices. A third of these imports is repaid from the export of products manufactured in other republics. Who will pay this compensation in a different situation?

Yet another problem that would have to be resolved is the republic's internal and foreign debt. To determine the size of this debt we should use as its criterion the republic's share in the overall national income used for consumption and accumulation. In 1988 it was 1.58 percent. Consequently, Lithuania's share of the country's foreign debt is 600 million rubles in convertible currency, or about 1,000 million dollars.

Lithuania's share of the internal national debt, which on January 1, 1990, totalled 398,600 million rubles, is 5,800 million rubles. Besides, the republic owes nearly 460 million rubles to the USSR State Bank owing to the differences in the prices of livestock products. Thus, the aggregate domestic debt of Lithuania amounts to about 6,300 million rubles.

Protection of the rights of citizens employed at centrally-controlled enterprises in Lithuania and all persons wishing to retain citizenship of the USSR poses a special problem. If Lithuania withdraws from the USSR or even if the situation in the republic further deteriorates, a certain number of people may leave the republic. In this case, Lithuania would have to pay a compensation to the families that have emigrated from the republic leaving behind their property. It would also have to pay a compensation for their resettlement and re-employment, although it is clear that one cannot compensate in rubles or any other currency the moral losses suffered by the people whose fate was decided against their will and contrary to their established patterns of living.

One cannot ignore either the opinion of the population groups that live on the territories that were annexed to Lithuania at different periods of Soviet history. Their incorporation into the

republic resulted from the establishment of greater affinity between our peoples, which provided the basis for their present national-territorial structure. The new situation may create territorial problems in their relations and we must not shut our eyes to this danger.

As for the international aspects of this problem, one should bear in mind that responsibility in tackling the problems of self-determination rests not only with the self-determining part of the state but also the state as a whole. Granting a people the right to self-determination, the state has a duty to take into account the interests of all its peoples. This principle is laid down in the UN Charter, human rights covenants and other international documents. It is formulated in all the laws recognized by the international community. The Soviet Union cannot shirk this responsibility.

One should also take into account the international processes taking place in Central Europe and the Baltic republics. It is important to know whether possible solutions help stabilize the situation in Europe and implement the Helsinki agreements or play into the hands of the opponents of detente and plunge Europe into a quagmire of national and territorial conflicts. This is the most important question for the entire international community, because any change in the fragile balance of political problems here may jeopardize the stability of the post-World War II system of international relations.

Yet another difficulty arises from this country's obligations concerning the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact countries. These obligations rest upon all the Soviet republics. Any ill-advised or rash solutions to problems concerning military parity may have grave consequences for each Warsaw Pact member country and put many European countries on the verge of losing control over the situation.

The problem of ensuring the inviolability of the borders and the security of the USSR is closely linked with the problem of the presence of Soviet troops in Lithuania. It is no secret that there are on the territory of Lithuania military bases and defense facilities essential for the functioning of the national defense infrastructure. Can we permit any rash or ill-judged decisions here?

It should also be noted that any serious violations by any republic of its obligations inside the country would inevitably create the problem of succession of international treaties of the USSR, both bilateral and multilateral. Under international law, specifically the Vienna international convention on succession of

states in respect of treaties of 1978, the main principle of settling such questions is preservation of stability, which compels the republic, if it does not wish to defy the entire international community, to continue to fulfil its earlier obligations.

World experience shows that no people can solve its problems at the expense of other peoples or ignoring the interests of other peoples. A weakening of allied relations between the republics of a federative state would undermine positive results of internal political reforms and improvements in international relations and quickly have a damaging effect on the international situation as a whole.

Thus, a republic's secession from the Union will require solutions to extremely difficult and sensitive economic, political, legal, international and, lastly, ethical problems.

Practically it means that although there are some problems, but these are known problems which are being solved but new, perhaps even more difficult problems might arise in future.

One should realize that while political independence can be proclaimed in one day, the creation of a new economy, based on market relations, and the re-organization of the entire system of ties, including international ties, is a far more complicated process.

I think the realistic way of tackling national problems today is linked with the development of the federation and the expansion of a constructive dialogue at all levels between the republics and the Union and between all the republics in the context of the current efforts to democratize Soviet society and renew the Soviet state.

Dialogue is also necessary when living in one state becomes increasingly difficult. International experience shows that when the process of creating a new state is regulated and implemented at all its stages through negotiations between the sides concerned, the possibilities for extremism and violence decrease, while the chances for a satisfactory solution of the most difficult practical problems increase.

(*Izvestia*, March 10, 1990)

## **PROBLEMS OF BUILDING AN INDEPENDENT LITHUANIA'S ECONOMY**

### **The Aspect of External Relations**

Today's Lithuania does not have an economic structure of a sovereign and independent state. So far, our economy has devel-

oped and functioned as a component part of the USSR national economy, with all the ensuing consequences. In the first place, the USSR has an overriding monopoly on the raw materials supplies. Being one-sidedly geared to the USSR's domestic market, Lithuania's industry does not adequately meet the republic's economic needs and the requirements of the population and has not been fully adapted to the local environment.

The whole of the natural gas, oil, metal, cotton, tractors and automobiles used by the republic have to be imported. And the list is by no means complete. Overall, the republic imported 7.5 billion rubles' worth of raw materials and various products in 1988 alone, which accounted for about 47 percent of the consumed material resources. At the same time, the volume of Lithuania's export is comparatively large—about one quarter of its GDP.

Fuel and energy represent the most complicated problems. The local fuel resources (firewood and peat) account for less than 3 percent of the overall fuel consumption, whereas the remaining 97 percent have to be imported. In 1989, the republic consumed a total of 16.2 million tons of conventional fuel, with natural and liquified gas accounting for 37 percent, petroleum products for 47 percent and coal for 9 percent of the overall fuel consumption.

Natural gas is the principal raw material in the production of nitrogen fertilizers (25 percent of its total amount goes for that purpose), the rest is used as fuel for boiler rooms, electricity-and-heat generating plants, electric power stations and for household needs (cooking facilities) mostly. At present, over 80 percent of the republic's apartments have natural gas supply.

The share of gas in this year's fuel balance will reach 48 percent. In 1995, natural gas may account for 60 percent of the overall fuel consumption. Besides, gas is a good substitute for fuel oil, which will help substantially reduce air pollution. At present, however, the republic is totally dependent on the USSR's gas-producing industry.

Lithuania is totally dependent on the USSR's oil supplies. Last year, the Mažeikiai oil-processing plant refined nearly 13 million tons of pipeline-supplied crude oil. Of this amount, 7.1 million tons went to consumers within the republic. The Mažeikiai refinery supplies the other two Baltic republics with petroleum products.

Are there any alternatives to Lithuania's dependence for its crude oil supplies? The republic has discovered certain oil reserves on its territory. It has been estimated that these can yield

up to 0.2 million tons of crude oil a year. Thus, the possibilities in this field are extremely limited.

Normal supplies of natural gas and oil is the central problem an acceptable solution to which must be found within the first days of Lithuania's independence. This is the centerpiece of the republic's economic stability and the normal life of its citizens.

Talking about the alternative gas and oil supplies, we have to bear in mind that the prices of these products in the Soviet Union are several times lower compared to the world prices. For example, we now pay 28 rubles per 1,000 cubic meters of natural gas, whereas the same amount of gas sells for 97 dollars on the world market; the prices of 1 ton of crude oil are 30 rubles and 110 dollars accordingly.

If we adopt the world market prices, the petroleum products alone will plunge us into a deficit exceeding 700 million dollars.

One more item for which the republic depends on the USSR is the apatites used in the production of phosphate fertilizers. The Kedainsky fertilizer plant uses up 0.54 million tons of apatites a year. This raw material is brought by rail from the Kola peninsula. Alternatively, the apatites could be brought to the republic by sea from abroad. This, however, would require an expansion of the Klaipeda sea port. On the whole, this port will play a far more significant role in the independent Lithuanian economy, so it appears expedient to make an all-out assessment of the port's future capability and effective use as early as today. Talking about the supplies of raw and other materials today and in the future, it is important to realize that the republic's economy has developed as an integral part of the USSR's economic complex. Therefore, the search for alternative solutions is a difficult but inevitable task.

A major part in the economy of our republic is played by the agro-industrial sector which accounts for over one-half (52 percent) of the national income. At present we produce much more basic foods, such as meat and milk, than we consume. In 1989, the republic consumed about 60 percent of its gross meat and milk output. In order to fully satisfy the needs of the republic's population, this percentage should be slightly higher. On the other hand, the agricultural sector lacks concentrated fodder. Of nearly 3.6 million tons of concentrated fodder used in 1989, the share of imported fodder amounted to 1.3 million tons, or 37 percent. About 400,000 tons of grain had to be imported to meet the requirements of the food industry.

Last year we produced 242,000 tons of sugar, including 79,000 tons (33 percent) from locally grown sugar-beets; the rest was

produced from sugar cane imported from Cuba. We, however, consume 188,000 tons of sugar, i.e. 2.4 times more than we produce from the locally grown sugar-beets.

Are there alternatives? By cutting off the import of concentrated fodder, we would have to slash the republic's output of meat by 100,000-120,000 tons (slaughter-weight). With this in mind, it would be necessary to reconsider both the crop pattern and the livestock farming specialization, and to introduce advanced livestock-growing techniques based on a drastic reduction of per animal fodder consumption. In sugar production, however, it will not be possible to do without sugar cane import.

Extremely significant is to export the republic's agricultural products to other countries. For the time being, however, the agricultural production costs in Lithuania are 2 or 3 times higher compared to those in the western countries.

The above considerations should be viewed as an attempt to identify the principal, and probably the most difficult and pressing problems. Being conscious of Lithuania's dependance on the USSR, we must nevertheless keep in mind that it also runs a number of factories producing items which are hardly produced anywhere else in the USSR. Thus the Vilnius-based electric measuring equipment plant is the only enterprise in the USSR that produces household electricity meters. The Vilnius radio component factory accounts for 75 percent of the USSR's output of TV deflection yoke systems, and an air-compressor factory in Panevėžys provides 70 percent of Soviet-made automobiles with pneumatic-brake components. Channel selector switches manufactured at the Kaunas television equipment factory are installed in more than 60 percent of Soviet-made television sets. The Vilnius fuel equipment plant accounts for more than 30 percent of the USSR's output of tractor fuel equipment. On the whole, however, Lithuania accounts for only 1.5 percent of the USSR's gross industrial output. This makes it easier for the USSR to maneuver its resources in disengaging itself from Lithuania economically. The State Planning Committee of the USSR has already been considering such a step.

The geography of economic ties should also be taken into account. Today, about 52 percent of the overall commodity turnover is with Russia, 8 percent with the neighboring Byelorussia, and 6.5 percent with Latvia and Estonia taken together.

The economy of an independent Lithuanian state that would fit naturally into the existing economic environment, ensure economic stability and maintain a normal standard of living should be created in a process which requires the consolidation

of all the political forces involved and hard and purposeful work on the part of every individual. The restoration of Lithuania's statehood should be effected considering the existing economic situation and the deep integration of the republic's economy into the economy of the Soviet Union. Political decisions must therefore be weighed up in terms of economic consequences they might lead to. With this in mind, the urgent and deep-going implementation of the Law of the USSR on the Economic Independence of the Three Baltic Republics should go along with the elaboration of a draft treaty on the economic, scientific and technological relationships between the said republics and the Soviet Union, and relevant negotiations should be launched.

The proposed draft treaty should envisage the preservation of the existing economic ties, above all, as regards the fuel-and-energy area, with prices to be maintained at their present level for a number of years, or to be at least gradually raised toward world market prices, and with mutual accounts to be settled through the clearing method. Similar treaties should be signed with other constituent Soviet republics.

The following issues shall form the core of Lithuania's foreign economic strategy:

- continued import of basic raw materials and fuel from the USSR;
- the borrowing of advanced technology and know-how, above all through the creation of joint ventures with western countries;

- the orientation of the republic's export operations primarily toward the East; as the quality of the products improves, a gradual expansion into western markets. Besides, Lithuania can become attractive to western companies as a springboard for their advancement into the eastern market. It is vital that the latter opportunity should be fully utilized.

The Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the  
Lithuanian SSR  
for the Preparation of the Plan to Reinstate  
Lithuania's Independence

(*Sovetskaya Litva*, March 6, 1990)

# **THE DOCUMENTED HISTORY**

# PEACE TREATY BETWEEN RUSSIA AND LITHUANIA

(July 12, 1920)

Russia, on the one hand, and Lithuania, on the other hand, guided by a firm desire to lay down a solid foundation for future relationships based on the principles of law and justice and which shall provide both states and their peoples with all the benefits of peaceful and good-neighborly coexistence, have agreed to launch negotiations on this subject and have appointed the following persons as their negotiators:

From the Government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic:

Adolf Ioffe

Julian Markhevsky

Leonid Obolensky

From the Government of the Lithuanian Democratic Republic:

Foma Narusevicius

Pyotr Klimas

Simon Rosenbaum

Iosif Vailokaitis

Vytovt Rackauskas

Upon the presentation of their credentials, recognized as perfectly complying with the established form and order, the said negotiators have agreed as follows:

## Article I

Mindful of the right of any nation to self-determination, up to a complete secession from the state of which it forms a constituent part, Russia unconditionally recognizes the independence of the Lithuanian State with all the legal consequences that such recognition entails, and of its own free will and in perpetuity invalidates all the sovereign powers that it has hitherto maintained over the people and the territory of Lithuania.

The precedent of Lithuania's former dependency upon Russia does not entail any commitments to Russia as regards either the people or the territory of Lithuania.

## Article II

The state borderline separating Russia and Lithuania shall be drawn as follows:

Beginning at the point where the river Gorodnyanka flows into the river Bobr, 2.12 kilometers east of the village of Charnylas, along the river Gorodnyanka and running further in between the villages of Khmelniki and Kmelyovka, Levki and Olsha; further, through the dry valley in the direction of the south edge of the village of Veselovo; further along the unnamed tributary of the river Kamennaya to the point of the said tributary's confluence with the aforementioned river Kamennaya within a 1 kilometer distance away from the village of Veselovo. It then runs to about

1 km upstream of the river Kamennaya and further through dry valley approximately in the direction of the village of V.Pr. Nerasnaya to the upper course of the unnamed tributary of the river Siderka; further, along this tributary to the point of its confluence with the river Siderka within approximately 1 kilometer distance away from the village of Siderka; from there, downstream of the river Siderka (Sideryanka) in between the villages of Shestaki and Siderka, past the hamlet of Sidra, in between the villages of Yurashi and Ogorodniki, past the village of Benyashi, past the village of Litvinka, in between the villages of Zveryany and Timani and to the village of Lovchiki; from there, through the dry valley toward the south edge of the village of Chuprinovo; further to a hill with a 108.0 trigonometrical point, approximately 1 kilometer south of the village of Novodeli; further in the direction of the north edge of Ok.Tolci, approximately 1 kilometer to its north; from there, toward the south edge of the village of Dubovaya; further along the river Indurka, past the village of Luzhki, past the hamlet of Indura, past the village of Prokopovichi, past the village of Belyovo, further, along the river Lashanka, past the village of Bobrovnik and further downstream to the point of its confluence with the river Svisloch; along Svisloch, to the point of its confluence with Nemam; from there, along the river Nemam to the mouth of the river Berezina, along the rivers Berezina, Isloch and Volozhinka, on the west edge of M.Volozhin and the north edge of the villages of Brilki, Burlaki and Polikshovshchizna; from there, to the north-east along the east edge of the villages of Melashi and Gintovshchizna (Menzhikovshchizna) approximately within 1 kilometer distance away from them; further, to the north-east, toward the west edge of the hamlet Holhlo, approximately within 1 kilometer distance away from it; further toward the west edge of the village of Sukhonarovshchizna, within about 1 kilometer away from it. From there, the borderline turns north-east toward the west edge of the village of Beryozovtsy within approximately 1 kilometer away from it; further to the north-east toward the west edge of the village of Vaskovtsy; from there, to the western edge of the village of Lyakhovshizna within approximately 1 kilometer from it; from there, it turns northwards to the west edge of the village of Kulevshizna and northwards in between the villages of Dreni and Zherlaki; from there, to the north-west on the east edge of the village of Garavina and west edge of the village of Myslevichi and further on, along the east edge of the village of Bukhovshchina toward the Molodechno rail station. It then dissects the railroad junction, leaving the Vilno-Molodechno-Lida railroad line on Lithuanian territory, and the Vileika-Molodechno-Minsk line on Russian territory; from there, it goes along the Bukhovka river to the point where it flows into the river Usha; it then follows the river Usha until it reaches the village of Usha; from there, it turns north-east through the dry valley to skirt the west edge of the villages of Slobodka, Dolgaya and Prenta; further, along the course of the river Naroch and past the village of Cheremshitsa; within about 1 kilometer away from the latter it turns northwards to skirt the east bank of Lake Blyada; within about 1 kilometer away from it, it goes northwards across Lake Myastru and on through the dry valley and in between the village of Pikoletsy, on its west edge, and the village of Minchaki, on its east edge; from there, it runs northwards skirting the west edge of the village of Volochev within about

1 km away from it; it then again runs northwards across Lake Madziol toward the west edge of the village of Pshegrodé within about 1 kilometer away from it; from there it makes toward the head of the river Myadzelka and follows its course to the point of its confluence with the river Disna, it then runs through the dry valley to the north-east in the direction of the west edge of the Boroviya village, within about 1 kilometer away from it; from there it makes to the north-east across Lake Mikhališki, further, along the course of the river Nishchenka to the parallel of Lake Oziraitsy, to the west edge of Z.Repishe, the west edge of Zamoshye, Lake Zolva, along the course of the river Zolviča, across Lake Dryvyaty to Lake Tsno, o. Neslizha and further northwards across Lake Nedrovo, along the river Druika to its intersection with the boundary of the Kovenskaya province and further, along the Kovenskaya province boundary and further still toward the river Western Dvina near f. Shafranovo.

**Note 1.** The borderline between Lithuania and Poland, and between Lithuania and Latvia shall be established by an agreement between these states.

**Note 2.** The state borders between the two states, parties to the present treaty, shall be physically drawn and border signposts erected by a joint commission to which the parties will appoint an equal number of representatives. In its effort to establish and physically draw the borderline, the aforementioned commission shall be guided by ethnographic and economic features, and shall, whenever possible, keep to the natural confines, trying their best to avoid the passage of the borderline across population centers.

Whenever the borderline must run along the lakes, rivers and canals, it shall be drawn in their middle, as there is no other provision to that end in the present treaty.

**Note 3.** The borderline as described in this Article has been drawn in red ink on the map attached herewith. Should there be found a discrepancy between the map and the text, the user of the treaty shall rely on the text.

**Note 4.** Diversion of water from borderline rivers and lakes that may bring about a drop in the mean water level, is prohibited.

The procedures and rules for navigation and fishing in these rivers and lakes are established by a special agreement, made to prohibit fishing methods that may result in the depletion of fish reserves.

#### Supplement (Map)

### Article III

Borderguard conditions, and customs and other related matters, shall be settled by a special agreement between the Contracting Parties after the occupied areas separating Lithuania and Russia have been freed of occupation.

### Article IV

#### The two Contracting Parties pledge:

1. Not to permit the formation or presence on their territories of governments, organizations or groups setting out to wage armed struggle against the other Contracting Party. Equally, not to permit the recruitment or mobilization within their territories of personnel for the armies of such

governments, organizations or groups, or the presence of their offices or officials.

2. To forbid states that are actually in a state of war with one of the Contracting Parties, and organizations or groups setting out to wage armed struggle against the other Contracting Party, to import through their ports or transport through their territories anything that can be used against the other Contracting Party, such as armed forces, war property, military technical means, and artillery, logistic, engineer and airborne materials.

## Article V

In the event of international recognition of Lithuania's permanent neutrality, Russia for its part pledges to observe this neutrality and participate in guarantees to uphold it.

## Article VI

Persons who on the date of ratification of this Treaty reside within Lithuania, who have themselves or whose parents have resided in Lithuania permanently or have been affiliated with rural, urban or class societies on the territory of the Lithuanian State, and also persons who prior to 1914 had resided on the territory of the same State for not less than 10 years and had permanent occupations there, except for civilian and military officials not originating in Lithuania and members of their families, are hereby recognized as citizens of the Lithuanian State.

Persons belonging to the same category who on the date of ratification of the present Treaty reside on the territory of a third state but have not been naturalized there, shall similarly be recognized as Lithuanian citizens.

However, all persons reaching the age of 18 and residing on Lithuania's territory may within one year after the day of ratification of this Treaty state their wish to preserve (opt for) Russian citizenship, with their citizenship passing to children under 18 and the wife, provided the spouses do not agree otherwise.

Similarly, persons residing on the territory of Russia and falling under the terms of the first paragraph of this article may, within the same period and on the same conditions, opt for Lithuanian citizenship.

Persons making optative statements and those who follow their citizenship retain their right to movable and immovable property within the limits of the laws existing in the state where they reside, but shall be obliged within one year after making the statement leave its frontiers, while entitled to liquidate all their property or take it with them.

Note 1. The time stipulated in this article both for making a statement and leaving the country shall be extended by one year with respect to persons residing in the Caucasus and Asian Russia.

Note 2. Citizens who resided on the territory of one Party and who on the date of ratification of this Treaty reside on the territory of the other shall enjoy the optants' rights stipulated in this article.

With respect to their property which they could not take out in conformity with the Refugee Re-Evacuation Treaty of June 30, 1920, refugees shall enjoy the same rights that are envisaged in this article for optants,

but only if they prove that the property belongs to them and that at the time of re-evacuation they were in actual possession of it.

## Article VII

Refugees of both Contracting Parties wishing to return home shall be returned home as soon as possible.

The procedure and conditions of re-evacuation shall be established by agreement between the governments of the Contracting Parties.

## Article VIII

The two Contracting Parties shall reciprocally abandon any payments stemming from Lithuania's former belonging to the former Russian Empire, and shall recognize that different kinds of state property on the territory of each of them constitute the inalienable property of the respective state. If property thus belonging to Lithuania was taken out of its territory by a third state after August 1, 1914, Lithuania shall be entitled to claim it back.

All claims of the Russian Treasury to property within the Lithuanian State, and all claims against Lithuanian citizens, shall pass to the Lithuanian State, but only within limits that remain unpaid for by counter claims that are subject to repayment.

Note. The right to claim the debts of smallholding peasants to the former Russian Peasant Land Bank or other Russian land banks that have now been nationalized, and the right to claim debts to the former Russian Noble Land Bank or other Russian land banks, situated on landowners' lands, that have now been nationalized, shall not pass to the Lithuanian Government when these lands pass to smallholding or landless peasants but shall be considered null and void.

Documents and instruments certifying the rights listed in this article shall be passed by the Russian Government to the Lithuanian Government inasmuch as they are in actual possession of the former. Should this prove impossible to accomplish within one year after the present Treaty is ratified, these documents and instruments shall be recognized as forfeited.

## Article IX

I. The Russian Government shall at its own expense return to Lithuania and pass to the Lithuanian Government libraries, archives, museums, works of art, teaching aids, documents and other property of educational establishments and of scientific, governmental, religious, public and class institutions, inasmuch as these items were taken out of Lithuania during the World War of 1914-1917 and actually are or shall be under the authority of governmental or public institutions of Russia.

With respect to archives, libraries, museums, works of art and documents that are of substantial scientific, artistic or historical significance to Lithuania and which were taken from Lithuania to Russia prior to the World War of 1914-1917, the Russian Government shall agree to return them to Lithuania inasmuch as their relocation should not cause substan-

tial damage to Russian archives, libraries, museums and picture galleries where they are kept.

Matters related to this relocation shall be settled by a special mixed commission with equal numbers of members from both Contracting Parties.

2. The Russian Government shall at its own expense return and pass to the Lithuanian Government all judicial and governmental documents and judicial and governmental archives that were taken away during the World War of 1914-1917, including the archives of senior and junior notaries, mortgage archives, the archives of religious agencies of all confessions, the archives and plans of land-distribution, land-organization, forestry, railway, road, post and telegraph and other institutions, and the plans, charts, maps and in general all material of the Topography Department of the Vilno Military District since they are related to the territory of the Lithuanian State; the archives of the local offices of the Noble and the Peasant Banks, of the offices of the State Bank and of all other credit, cooperative and mutual insurance institutions; and the archives and documents of Lithuania's private institutions inasmuch as all these items actually are or will be under the authority of governmental or public institutions of Russia.

3. The Russian Government shall at its own expense return and pass to the Lithuanian Government all kinds of property documents to be handed over to their owners, such as title and mortgage deeds, lease contracts, all kinds of cash liabilities, etc., including books, papers and documents needed for repayment, and in general documents essential for determining property and legal relations among Lithuanian citizens that were taken out of Lithuania during the World War of 1914-1917 inasmuch as these actually are or will be under the authority of governmental or public organizations of Russia. If they are not returned within two years after the date of ratification of this Treaty, these documents shall be considered forfeited.

4. With respect to parts of the archives of central institutions related to Lithuania's territory and subject to relocation, there must be a special agreement, to which end a mixed commission shall be appointed with equal numbers of members from both Contracting Parties.

## Article X

1. The Russian Government shall at its own expense return and pass to the Lithuanian Government the property of public, charity, cultural and educational institutions, and also bells and utensils of churches and prayer houses of all confessions that were evacuated during the World War of 1914-1917, to be handed over to their owners, inasmuch as the listed items actually are or shall be under the authority of governmental or public institutions of Russia.

2. a) With respect to savings bank deposits, lien and other sums deposited in former Russian governmental and judicial institutions inasmuch as these deposits and sums belong to Lithuanian citizens, b) with respect to different kinds of deposits or sums deposited in the offices of the State Bank and credit institutions and their offices that have been nationalized

and liquidated, inasmuch as these deposits and sums belong to Lithuanian citizens—the Russian Government pledges to recognize all the rights of the Lithuanian citizens that previously were recognized with regard to all Russian citizens, and therefore shall allow Lithuanian citizens who, owing to the occupation, could not use their rights then to use them now, with their claims to be met with paper banknotes circulating in the Russian Republic at the time of the claims being fulfilled, and in relation to the exchange rate of the paper ruble that was effective on the internal money market by the time Lithuania had been entirely occupied, i.e. by September 1, 1915.

With respect to valuables and property that are kept or were kept in banks and their safe deposit boxes, inasmuch as these valuables and property belong to Lithuanian citizens, they shall be subject to provisions as defined in the first paragraph of the present article.

Sums, valuables and property defined in this article shall be passed to the Lithuanian Government to be handed over to their owners.

3. The Russian Government shall at its own expense return and pass to the Lithuanian Government capital intended for scholarships at Lithuanian educational establishments and for Lithuanian citizens at Russian educational establishments.

4. With respect to repaying Russian banknotes, governmental or government-guaranteed securities, and private securities issued by societies and institutions whose enterprises have been nationalized by the Russian Government, which are circulating in Lithuania, and with respect to satisfying Lithuanian citizens' claims against the Russian Treasury and nationalized institutions—Russia pledges to recognize all the privileges, rights and advantages with regard to Lithuania and Lithuanian citizens that it has directly or indirectly granted or will grant to any third country or its citizens, societies and institutions.

If securities and property documents are not available, the Russian Government agrees, in applying this paragraph of the present article, to recognize as being the holders of securities, etc. those who present sufficient proof of the evacuation of the papers belonging to them during the war.

## Article XI

1. The Russian Government shall return to the Lithuanian Government the property of Lithuanian citizens or associations, companies and joint-stock societies evacuated during the World War of 1914-1917 most of whose stock or shares belonged to Lithuanian citizens at the time the Russian Government adopted its relevant decrees on nationalization, inasmuch as this property actually is or will be under the authority of the Russian Government.

*Note.* The present paragraph does not apply to capital, deposits or valuables that were in the offices of the State Bank or private banks, credit institutions and savings banks on Lithuanian territory.

2. With respect to the railway means of conveyance and telegraph and telephone communications, and the equipment of railway depots, evacuated to Russia during the World War of 1914-1917, Russia agrees to compensate Lithuania for some of them in amounts corresponding to the local

needs of the Lithuanian State and considering the general toning down of economic life.

A mixed commission of equal numbers of members from the two Contracting Parties shall be established immediately after the ratification of the present Treaty to finalize the size of this compensation.

Note. The compensation of railway means of conveyance and telegraph and telephone communications and the equipment of railway depots on Lithuania's occupied territory can begin only after it is liberated from occupation.

3. To fulfil the conditions stipulated in Articles VIII, IX, X and XI of the present Treaty, the Russian Government pledges to provide the Lithuanian Government with all relevant certificates and information and furnish every assistance in searching for property, archives, documents, etc. to be returned. Problems arising in the matter shall immediately be tackled by a special mixed commission with equal numbers of members from the two Contracting Parties.

## Article XII

Taking into account the fact that Lithuania was almost totally ruined during the World War and that Lithuanian citizens are deprived even of the possibility to restore their property, including destroyed or burned-down buildings, owing to the extermination of Lithuanian forests, the Russian Government agrees:

1. To free Lithuania of responsibility for Russia's debts and any other liabilities, including those arising from the emission of paper money, exchequer notes, liabilities, series and certificates of the Russian Exchequer, from the guarantees of various institutions and enterprises, and from the guaranteed loans thereof, etc. All such claims by Russian creditors to Lithuania must be directed only against Russia.

2. To grant the Lithuanian Government logging rights on a territory of 100,000 *desyatinas*\* in areas adjoining Lithuania and as close to float rivers and railways as possible, with the gradual reduction of the logging area within 20 years under Russian forestry plans. The definition of further logging conditions shall be entrusted to a mixed commission of equal numbers of members from the two Contracting Parties.

3. To grant the Lithuanian Government three million rubles in gold within one month and a half after the day the Treaty is ratified.

## Article XIII

1. The Contracting Parties are agreed to open negotiations about concluding a trade and a transit treaty as soon as possible after the present Treaty is ratified.

2. The trade treaty must be based on a most-favored-nation principle.

3. The transit treaty must be based on the following principles:

a) No duties or taxes must be imposed on goods passing in transit through the territory of each of the Contracting Parties;

b) freight tariffs on transit goods must not be higher than freight tariffs

\*This equals 109,000 hectares, or about 270,000 acres—fr.

on similar goods intended for local use.

**N o t e.** Before normal conditions are created, transit relations between Russia and Lithuania shall be regulated by the same principles. Other transit conditions shall be specified by special provisional agreements.

4. The Russian and the Lithuanian merchant marines shall reciprocally use the harbors of the Contracting Parties on the basis of equal rights.

5. Property remaining after the death of citizens of one of the Contracting Party on the territory of the other shall be fully provided to a consular or another appropriate representative of the state to which the legator belonged to be disposed of in accordance with national laws.

#### **Article XIV**

Diplomatic and consular relations between the Contracting Parties shall be established immediately after the present Treaty is ratified.

After the ratification of the present Treaty the Parties shall set out to conclude a consular convention.

#### **Article XV**

After this Treaty is ratified, the Russian Government shall free Lithuanian citizens and those opting for Lithuanian citizenship, and the Lithuanian Government shall free Russian citizens and those opting for Russian citizenship, of military and civilian ranks, of punishment under all political and disciplinary cases. If no verdicts have yet been passed in these cases, they shall be terminated.

No amnesty shall apply to persons committing the aforesaid actions after this Treaty is ratified.

Persons convicted by criminal courts for actions that are not subject to amnesty shall return home after serving their penal terms. If no conviction occurs in this kind of cases within one year after the accused person is brought to account, he shall be handed over to national authorities along with the entire case after this period expires.

On the other hand, the two Contracting Parties shall free their own citizens of punishment for actions they committed before the ratification of the present Treaty in favor of the other Party.

#### **Article XVI**

In discussing the present Treaty, the two Contracting Parties considered the fact that they had never been in a state of war with each other and that Lithuania, as an area of military actions during the World War of 1914-1917, suffered particularly from it. Therefore, all terms of the present Treaty can by no means serve as a precedent for any third country.

On the other hand, if one of the Contracting Parties grants special privileges, rights and advantages to a third country or its citizens, these shall apply to the other Party or its citizens without any special agreement.

**N o t e.** The Contracting Parties, however, shall not make claims to the advantages that one of them grants a third country that is bound with it by a customs or any other alliance.

## **Article XVII**

Matters of a public or a private legal nature arising between citizens of the Contracting Parties and some specific matters between the two states or between the states and citizens of the other Party shall be settled by a special mixed commission with equal numbers of members from both Parties, which shall be instituted immediately after the present Treaty is ratified, and whose composition, rights and duties shall be defined by an instruction agreed upon by both Contracting Parties.

## **Article XVIII**

The present Treaty has been drawn up in the Russian and the Lithuanian languages. Both texts shall be considered authentic in interpreting it.

## **Article XIX**

The present Treaty is subject to ratification.

The ratification instruments should be exchanged in Moscow.

All mentions of the moment of the Treaty ratification in the present Treaty imply the time of the mutual exchange of the ratification instruments.

To confirm the above, the representatives of both Parties signed the present Treaty and applied their seals to it.

The original in two copies was compiled and signed in Moscow on July 12, 1920.

A. Ioffe  
L. Obolensky  
P. Klimas  
J. Vailokaitis

Yu. Markhevsky  
F. Naruševičius  
S. Rozenbaumas  
V. Račkauskas

# **SUPPLEMENTS TO THE PEACE TREATY BETWEEN RUSSIA AND LITHUANIA**

## **to article II**

To the peace delegation  
of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic  
on talks with Lithuania:

Taking into account the fact of a state of war between Russia and Poland and the occupation by the latter of a part of the territory, which according to the present Peace Treaty is part of the Lithuanian territory, and in view of the impossibility for Russia's armies to stop hostilities against Poland on the Lithuanian border, the undersigned declare on behalf of the Government of the Lithuanian Democratic Republic, that it

shall in no way consider the fact of the crossing of the Lithuanian borders by Russia's troops and the occupation by them of part of the territory, which, in accordance with the present Treaty, is part of the Lithuanian State, as a violation of the present Treaty and as an unfriendly act towards Lithuania, with the provision that as soon as the military-strategic situation permits, Russia's troops shall be withdrawn from the said territories.

F. Naruševičius  
P. Klimas  
S. Rozenbaumas  
V. Račkauskas  
J. Vailokaitis

#### to article V

To the peaceful delegation  
of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic  
on talks with Lithuania:

On behalf of its Government, the delegation of the Lithuanian Democratic Republic on the peace talks with Russia declares that the Lithuanian Government takes into consideration the statement of the delegation of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic on peace talks with Lithuania concerning the fact that the Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic recognizes its obligation to observe the neutrality of Lithuania and to take part in its guarantees, provided Russia's Government takes part in the elaboration of the conditions for the said neutrality of Lithuania.

F. Naruševičius  
P. Klimas  
S. Rozenbaumas  
V. Račkauskas  
J. Vailokaitis

#### to article VII

To the peaceful delegation  
of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic  
on talks with Lithuania:

In view of the fact that both in Lithuania and in Russia there is a category of people called prisoners of war, the undersigned, on behalf of the Government of the Lithuanian Democratic Republic, declare that, when this Article is applied, the latter agrees to consider the above-mentioned citizens as refugees.

F. Naruševičius  
P. Klimas  
S. Rozenbaumas  
V. Račkauskas  
J. Vailokaitis

Printed from the archive documents. The Treaty was published in the "Collection of Legislative Acts," No. 96, December 18, 1920, pp. 519-525. The Supplements to the Treaty are published for the first time.

The Treaty was ratified by the All-Union Central Executive Committee on September 9, 1920, and by the Constituent Assembly of Lithuania on August 6, 1920. The ratification instruments were exchanged in Moscow on October 14, 1920.

# TREATY BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE LITHUANIAN REPUBLIC

September 28, 1926

The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the one side, and the President of the Lithuanian Republic, on the other side, believing that the interests of the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Lithuania demand constant cooperation based on confidence, and in order to promote, to the best of their abilities, the maintenance of universal peace, have agreed to conclude a Treaty for the development of friendly relations existing between them, and to achieve this purpose appointed as their plenipotentiary representatives:

The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

Georgi Chicherin, Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and

Sergei Alexandrovsky, Plenipotentiary Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Lithuania,

and the President of the Lithuanian Republic:

Mykolas Slezevicius, Minister-President, Minister of Justice and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Lithuanian Republic, and

Jurgis Baltrušaitis, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Lithuanian Republic,

who met in Moscow and, after considering their powers and having found everything in legal order, adopted the following decisions:

## Article 1

The Peace Treaty between Russia and Lithuania concluded in Moscow on July 12, 1920\*, all the provisions of which remain in force and preserve their inviolability, serves as a basis for relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Lithuanian Republic.

## Article 2

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Lithuanian Republic shall in all circumstances respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity and inviolability of each other.

## Article 3

Each of the Parties shall refrain from all kind of aggressive actions against the other side.

In case one of the Parties, despite its peaceable behavior, is subject to aggression on the part of one or several third countries, the other Party shall

\*See Vol. III, doc. No. 12.

not render any support to the third country or several third countries in their fight against the Party subject to aggression.

#### **Article 4**

If third powers conclude a political agreement aimed against one of the Parties, or if third powers organize a coalition with the aim of economic or financial boycott of one of the Parties in case of a conflict of the kind mentioned in Article 3, Para 2, or while neither of the Parties is involved in an armed conflict, the other Party shall not join such an agreement or a coalition.

#### **Article 5**

In case of a conflict between them, the Parties agree to appoint conciliatory commissions, if the conflict cannot be solved by diplomatic means.

The composition of these commissions, their rights and the procedure they are to follow are to be determined by a special agreement which should be established.

#### **Article 6**

The present Treaty is subject to ratification which should take place in the course of six weeks after its signing.

The ratification instruments are to be exchanged in the city of Kaunas.

The Treaty is compiled in the Russian and Lithuanian languages.

The interpretation of both texts is considered authentic.

#### **Article 7**

The present Treaty shall enter into force from the moment the ratification instruments are exchanged and shall be in force for five years, with the exception of Articles 1 and 2 of the present Treaty whose term of operation is unlimited.

The operation of the present Treaty is prolonged each time for a year if one of the Parties does not express a wish, at least six months before the expiry of the term of the Treaty, to enter into negotiations on the further form of political relations between the states.

To confirm this the representatives of the Parties signed the present Treaty and applied their seals to it.

The original was compiled and signed in Moscow in two copies on September 28, 1926.

Georgi Chicherin  
Mykolas Sleževičius

Sergei Alexandrovsky  
Jurgis Baltrušaitis

(As published in the "Collection of Legislative Acts," Section II, No. 1, January 4, 1927, pp. 66-69)

The Treaty was ratified by the USSR Central Executive Committee on November 5, 1926, and by the Sejm of Lithuania—on November 5, 1926.

The ratification instruments were exchanged on November 9, 1926, in Kaunas.

# **SECRET ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL**

While signing the Non-Agression Treaty between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the undersigned representatives of both Parties strictly confidentially discussed the question on the delineation of the spheres of mutual interests in Eastern Europe. The results of the discussion were as follows:

1. In case of the territorial-political restructuring of the regions, included in the Baltic Republics (Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), the northern border of Lithuania shall be simultaneously the boundary between the spheres of interests of Germany and the USSR. Accordingly, the interest of Lithuania with respect to the Vilno Region is recognized by both Parties.

2. In case of the territorial-political restructuring of the regions comprising part of the Polish State, the boundary between the spheres of interest of Germany and the USSR shall pass along the rivers Narew, Vistula and San.

The question as to whether it is in mutual interest to preserve the independent Polish State and what the boundaries of this state should be, can be ultimately solved only in the course of further political development.

In any case, both Governments are going to approach this question on the basis of friendly mutual concord.

3. As for the South-East of Europe from the Soviet side, the interest of the USSR towards Bessarabia is stressed. The German side declares the complete lack of political interest in these regions.

4. This Protocol should be kept top secret by both Parties.

On behalf of the USSR Government  
V. Molotov  
Moscow, August 23, 1939

On behalf of the German Government  
J. Ribbentrop

# **SECRET ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL**

The undersigned representatives state the agreement between the German Government and the USSR Government on the following matters:

The Secret Additional Protocol signed on August 23, 1939, is to be changed in Point I so as to include the territory of the Lithuanian State into the sphere of interests of the USSR, for, on the other side, the Lublin Province and parts of the Warsaw Province are included into the spheres of interests of Germany (see the map to the Treaty of Friendship and Boundary between the USSR and Germany signed today). As soon as the USSR Government takes special measures on the Lithuanian territory to safeguard its interests, to achieve a natural and simple establishment of the boundary the existing German-Lithuanian border shall be changed so that the Lithuanian territory to the south-west of the line shown on the map is passed over to Germany.

It is further stated that the existing economic agreements between Germany and Lithuania should not be violated by the above mentioned undertakings of the Soviet Union.

On behalf of the Soviet Government

V. Molotov

Moscow, September 28, 1939

On behalf of the German Government

J. Ribbentrop

# **TREATY ON THE PASSING OVER TO THE LITHUANIAN REPUBLIC OF THE CITY OF VILNO AND THE VILNO REGION AND ON MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND LITHUANIA**

**October 10, 1939**

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, on the one side, and the President of the Lithuanian Republic, on the other side, with a view to developing friendly relations established by the Peace Treaty of July 12, 1920, based on the recognition of the independent statehood and non-interference in the internal affairs of the other side;

recognizing that the Peace Treaty of July 12, 1920, and the Treaty on Non-Aggression and Peaceful Settlement of Conflicts of September 28, 1926, remain the firm basis for their mutual relations and obligations;

and convinced that the definition of the clear-cut conditions for ensuring mutual security and just settlement of the question concerning the state affiliation of the city of Vilno and the Vilno Region, illegally torn by Poland from Lithuania,

deemed it necessary to conclude the following Treaty on the Passing Over to the Lithuanian Republic of the City of Vilno and the Vilno Region and on Mutual Assistance Between the Soviet Union and Lithuania, and for this purpose appointed their representatives:

**THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR:**

V. M. Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

**THE PRESIDENT OF THE LITHUANIAN REPUBLIC:**

Juozas Urbšis, Minister of Foreign Affairs. These representatives, after producing their mandates, which have been found in proper legal order, have agreed to the following:

## **Article I**

In order to strengthen friendship between the USSR and Lithuania, the city of Vilno and the Vilno Region are passed over by the Soviet Union to the Lithuanian Republic so that they are included in its state territory and the boundary between the USSR and the Lithuanian Republic is established in accordance with the map enclosed in this document. This boundary is to be described in more detail in an additional Protocol.

## **Article II**

The Soviet Union and the Lithuanian Republic shall render each other all-round assistance, including military assistance in case of aggression or threat of aggression against Lithuania, as well as in case of aggression or

threat of aggression against the Soviet Union across the Lithuanian territory on the part of any European power.

### **Article III**

✓ The Soviet Union shall aid the Lithuanian Army with weapons and other military materiel on favorable terms.

### **Article IV**

The Soviet Union and the Lithuanian Republic shall jointly protect the state borders of Lithuania for which purpose the Soviet Union can station in the points designated by the mutual agreement with the Lithuanian Republic a strictly limited contingent of Soviet land and air forces to be maintained at the expense of the Soviet Union. In accordance with this Treaty, the exact location of these troops and the boundaries within which they can be stationed, their number in each particular case as well as all other questions such as economic, administrative, legal, and so on, are to be regulated with the help of special agreements.

The plots of land and buildings necessary for the purpose shall be leased out by the Lithuanian Government at reasonable price.

### **Article V**

In case of a threat of aggression against Lithuania or against the Soviet Union across the Lithuanian territory, both Parties shall immediately discuss the situation and take all the necessary measures to ensure the inviolability of the territories of the Parties.

### **Article VI**

Both Parties shall not join any blocs or coalitions aimed against one of the Parties.

### **Article VII**

The realization of the present Treaty should in no way violate the sovereign rights of the Parties, in particular, their state structure, economic and social system, military measures and, in general, the principle of non-interference in internal affairs.

The places where Soviet land and air forces are stationed (in accordance with Article IV of the present Treaty) in all circumstances remain a component part of the territory of the Lithuanian Republic.

### **Article VIII**

The term of the present Treaty as far as the obligations on mutual assistance between the USSR and the Lithuanian Republic are concerned (Articles II-VII), shall be fifteen years; if a year before the expiry of the said term neither of the Parties deems it necessary to denounce the provisions of the present Treaty for which this term is set, these provisions shall be automatically in force for another ten years.

## **Article IX**

The present Treaty shall enter into force from the moment the instruments of ratification are exchanged. The exchange of the instruments shall be carried out within six days after the signing of the present Treaty in the city of Kaunas.

The present Treaty is compiled in two originals, in the Russian and Lithuanian languages, in the city of Moscow on October 10, 1939.

V. Molotov

J. Urbšis

## **CONFIDENTIAL PROTOCOL**

1.

It has been agreed that to implement joint defense of the borders of the Lithuanian Republic the USSR shall have the right to keep in certain localities of the Lithuanian Republic (Article IV of the Treaty) a total of up to 20,000 troops of the ground and air armed forces.

2.

Assistance stipulated in Article II of the Treaty shall be rendered at the express wish of the other Party, and, upon mutual agreement, the Party obliged to render assistance may, in the event of war between the other Party and a third power, remain neutral.

3.

To supervise the implementation of the present Treaty and resolve problems that may arise a Joint Commission shall be formed on a parity basis, which will arrange its own clerical work.

If on some problem, which has arisen in connection with the implementation of the present Treaty, the members of the commission have failed to reach agreement the contentious issue shall be resolved through the usual diplomatic means. If agreement is not reached in this manner the discord shall be settled through direct negotiations between the Governments of both countries.

4.

The present confidential protocol shall be an annex to the Treaty of October 10, 1939, regarding the transfer of the city of Vilno and the Vilno Region to the Lithuanian Republic and regarding mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and Lithuania.

V. Molotov

J. Urbšis

# STATEMENT BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF JUNE 14, 1940

As a result of an exchange of opinions held lately in Moscow between the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, V.M. Molotov, and the Prime Minister of Lithuania, Mr. Merkis, and also the Foreign Minister of Lithuania, Mr. Urbšis, the Soviet Government considers the following facts to have been established:

1. Within the past few months there have been registered in Lithuania a number of cases of kidnapping, by Lithuanian authorities, of Soviet servicemen from Soviet military units stationed on the territory of Lithuania under the Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty on Mutual Assistance, and cases of torture of the servicemen with the object of forcing them to reveal military secrets of the Soviet state. It has been ascertained that serviceman Butayev was not only kidnapped but also killed by the Lithuanian police after the Government of the USSR demanded his release. Two kidnapped Soviet servicemen—Pisarev and Shmavgonts—managed to escape from the hands of the Lithuanian police that had seized them and subjected them to torture. Serviceman Shutov, kidnapped in Lithuania, has not been found so far. By such actions towards servicemen from Soviet military units stationed in Lithuania, Lithuanian authorities try to make impossible the further stay of the Soviet military units in Lithuania.

This is also evidenced by certain facts that have grown more frequent of late: numerous arrests and banishments to concentration camps of Lithuanian citizens from among the personnel serving Soviet military units—workers of mess-rooms, laundry-women, etc., and also wholesale arrests of Lithuanian citizens from among workers and technicians employed in building barracks for Soviet military units. Such unprovoked and unbridled repressions against Lithuanian citizens employed in catering to the needs of the Soviet military units are aimed not only at making impossible the further stay of the Soviet military units in Lithuania but also at fostering a hostile attitude to Soviet servicemen in Lithuania and preparing attacks on the said military units.

All those facts indicate that the Lithuanian Government grossly violates the Treaty on Mutual Assistance entered into with the Soviet Union and is preparing an attack against the Soviet garrison stationed in Lithuania under that Treaty.

2. Shortly after the conclusion of the Treaty on Mutual Assistance between Lithuania and the USSR the Lithuanian government entered into a military alliance with Latvia and Estonia, having thereby turned the so-called Baltic Entente, in which formerly only Latvia and Estonia were bound by military alliance, into a three-state military alliance. The Soviet Government considers it established that this military alliance is directed against the Soviet Union. Upon the entry of Lithuania into this military alliance the links between the General Staffs of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, maintained in secrecy from the Soviet Union, have been strengthened. It is also known that the press organ of this military Entente, *Revue Baltique*, published in English, French and German, has been brought out since February 1940.

All these facts indicate that the Lithuanian Government has grossly

violated the Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty on Mutual Assistance which prohibits the Sides to "join any blocs or coalitions aimed against one of the Parties" (Article VI of the Treaty).

All those violations of the Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty and hostile actions of the Lithuanian Government towards the USSR have taken place despite an exceptionally benevolent and definitely pro-Lithuanian policy of the USSR vis-a-vis Lithuania to which, as is known, the Soviet Union has ceded, on its own initiative, the city of Vilno and the Vilno Region.

The Soviet Government believes that this state of affairs cannot continue any longer.

The Soviet Government deems it absolutely necessary and urgent:

1. That the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Skucas, and the head of the political police, Mr. Povilaitis, be forthwith brought to trial as direct culprits guilty of provocative actions against the Soviet garrison in Lithuania.

2. That the kind of government that would be able and ready to implement in good faith the Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty on Mutual Assistance and effect a resolute curbing of the enemies of the Treaty be immediately formed in Lithuania.

3. That a free passage of Soviet military units across the territory of Lithuania be ensured immediately for their stationing in the more important centers of Lithuania in numbers sufficient to ensure the implementation of the Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty on Mutual Assistance and prevent provocative actions aimed against the Soviet garrison in Lithuania.

The Soviet Government considers the meeting of these demands to be an elementary condition without which it is impossible to secure the implementation of the Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty in good faith and conscientiously.

The Soviet Government expects an answer from the Lithuanian Government by 10:00 a.m. on June 15. The non-delivery of a reply by the Lithuanian Government by the said time will be regarded as a refusal to meet the above demands of the Soviet Union.

(*Izvestia*, June 16, 1940)

# DECLARATION BY THE PEOPLE'S SEJM OF LITHUANIA ON STATE POWER

July 21, 1940

The criminal Smetona regime, indifferent to the real interests of the people, has led the country into an impasse in the fields of both domestic and foreign policy. The vital interests of the Lithuanian people have been sacrificed to the mercenary interests of a handful of exploiters and rich people. The only thing left to the working people in towns and in the country has been unemployment, insecurity, hunger, indigence and national oppression.

Over the years, the Lithuanian people languished under the oppression of that reactionary regime. The Smetona clique kept our toiling and talented people in a vise of lawlessness and misrule. The toiling masses of the country were deprived of basic freedoms and were not able to have their political, professional and cultural organizations. Every independent word, and free thought were suppressed ruthlessly and at once.

Smetona's nationalities policy was that of permanently inciting inter-ethnic clashes, and of pitting one nationality against another. It was a nationalities policy such as this that provided one of the pillars sustaining the usurpatory rule of Smetona and company. This is why in the eight months that have elapsed since the USSR handed over to Lithuania the city of Vilno and the Vilno Region, and until the assumption of power by the people's government, national discord in the city of Vilno, far from subsiding, has continued to increase.

The interests of the Lithuanian people called for a constant and close unity and friendship with the Soviet Union. However, Smetona and his myrmidons pursued a hostile policy vis-a-vis the USSR. They reduced our country to semi-colonial dependence on separate capitalist predators, thereby inflicting immense damage on the Lithuanian people and preparing Lithuania as a springboard for possible attacks on the USSR.

The Lithuanian people could no longer suffer the ruling clique perpetrating such arbitrariness at home and treachery in foreign policy. In a united outburst it toppled the hateful government and the ruling upper echelons, and by so doing opened the way to free elections, to a genuinely popular Sejm that represented the interests of the working people and that was created with its hands.

The 14th and 15th of July, 1940, are great historic days in the life of the toiling masses of Lithuania. They laid the grounds for an alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the working intelligentsia, and signalled the victory of the platform of the group The Union of the Working People of Lithuania which securely brought together all of the country's true patriots, all those who really hold dear the interests of the Lithuanian people.

These were days when the Lithuanian people expressed its will: to end for all time the political rule of the landlords and capitalists, to establish

a truly people's government and, with its own hands, to commence the restructuring of the country.

The victory of The Union of the Working People of Lithuania marks a historic turn in the country's life which will ensure the working people full civil and political rights and a radiant future, for themselves and for future generations.

The People's Sejm, as sovereign exponent of the will of the people of Lithuania, duty-bound to consolidate it by victory over the plutocratic regime, considers solving in a new way the question regarding the character of state power in Lithuania to be its main task and duty.

The great historical experience of the peoples of the Soviet Union teaches that Soviet government is the only true espouser and guardian of the interests of the working people. Only Soviet power is real people's power, where the country is governed by the people itself, without capitalists and landlords. It is only in the Soviets that the alliance between the workers and the peasants finds its embodiment.

The exploitation of man by man has been ended forever in the Soviet Union. Concern for man is the governing principle of all life in the USSR. Every working person in the USSR is guaranteed the right to work, the right to rest and recreation, the right to free education, to free medical assistance, and the right to material security in old age.

Soviet power is the most democratic state power. The experience of capitalist countries shows that any other form of government means the dominance and boundless arbitrary rule of a handful of exploiters over the vast majority of the people.

Through the Soviets, all working masses participate, enjoying full rights, in the running of the state, in the building of a free and happy life for all working people. Soviet government alone creates the conditions for advancing, from the midst of the people, the leaders and organizers of different areas of state, economic and social life, for the flourishing of people's capabilities and talents. There is no national oppression and national inequality in the Soviet Union. There this grim heritage of the past has irreversibly been done away with. For Lithuania, where, over the years, the ruling clique, overthrown by the people, instigated interethnic struggle, the establishment of Soviet government is the only and most reliable pledge of national equality and free development of all peoples inhabiting Lithuania. Soviet government alone can secure for us peace, work and freedom, and will deliver the toiling masses of town and country from exploitation, need and lack of rights. The example of the Soviet Union teaches this. Soviet government alone will ensure us political, economic and cultural well-being.

Expressing the unanimous will of the free working people of Lithuania, the People's Sejm proclaims hereby the establishment of Soviet government on all territory of Lithuania.

Lithuania is hereby proclaimed a Soviet Socialist Republic. Henceforth, all power in the Lithuanian SSR will belong to the working people of town and country, represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

The People's Sejm is firmly convinced that the entire population of Lithuania will rally around Soviet government to ensure the advance-

ment of prosperity of the economy and culture of Lithuania, for the freedom and happiness of our people, for the total victory of the people's cause.

Long live the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic!

Long live the Soviets of Working People's Deputies!

Long live the Soviet Union, the heartland of the working people of the world!

Long live comrade Stalin, the leader, the teacher and the friend of working people all over the world!

(*Izvestia*, July 23, 1940)

# **DECLARATION BY THE PEOPLE'S SEJM OF LITHUANIA ON THE ENTRY OF LITHUANIA INTO THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS**

**July 21, 1940**

The Lithuanian people, ruthlessly oppressed by exploiters, subjected to plunder and violence, condemned to indigence and extinction, has established in Lithuania a new state system, a system under which the people itself is the sovereign master of the country. This system is the Soviet system. Lithuania has become a Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Lithuanian workers and the working intelligentsia for years suffered from unemployment and writhed in the vice of deprivation and lack of rights. The Lithuanian peasants suffered from total lack of land or land shortage, because the greater part of the land had been seized by the gentry and other big landowners. In old Lithuania the exploiters alone lived well: entrepreneurs, factory-owners, bankers, landowners, and top office-holders, who, lustng for immense profits, incomes and gains, enslaved the working people of Lithuania.

The venal Smetona-type rulers implanted in Lithuania foreign capital which insatiably plundered and tore and tormented with its grasping claws the body of the Lithuanian people. Lithuania's economic and political dependence on the imperialist predators, on foreign capitalists and bankers, was steadily growing. Now the people, with the help of the mighty Red Army, has thrown off the yoke of the Smetona enslavers and established Soviet government in its state.

The existing Soviet Socialist Republics are not isolated states, cut off from one another; together they constitute an indissoluble union. They are equal members of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which they have joined on the basis of voluntary unification.

Life has shown that cooperation between the Soviet Republics has afforded them unprecedented flourishing and fostered the rapid growth of their economy and culture. Within what is a historically short period, they have evolved into politically, economically and culturally advanced republics. Never could a republic have achieved this on its own.

Life has shown that only united Soviet Republics can withstand the onslaught of the imperialist powers to subdue and conquer smaller nationalities. Without a state union of Soviet Republics, without their coming together to form a single military-economic force, it would have been impossible to hold out against the united forces of world capitalism either on the military or on the economic front.

The Lithuanian people is aware that all through the past years the Soviet Union has conducted towards it a most friendly policy. That Lithuania was not conquered by the Poland of landowners, that Vilnius, Lithuania's ancient capital, has been restored to it, that Lithuania has stayed away from the

raging flames of war, that the Lithuanian people has overthrown the yoke of the landlords and capitalists and gained the chance of establishing in its country the only just state system—Soviet government—all this has been due to the Soviet Union. This is why the Lithuanian people has always seen that its better future lay in drawing closer together with the Soviet Union.

The criminal reactionary clique of the former rulers of Lithuania has sought to hinder by all the means at its disposal the fraternal coming together of the USSR and Lithuania; it has used all possible means in its attempts to prevent the establishment of a strong and indissoluble union between the USSR and Lithuania.

Now the Lithuanian people, that has put an end to oppression and gained all rights, and established a new state and social system, is legislatively to formalize the Lithuanian Republic's strong alliance and friendship with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The People's Sejm of Lithuania is confident that only joining the Soviet Socialist Republics will ensure the real sovereignty of the Lithuanian state, its genuine industrial and agricultural advance, the genuine flowering of national culture, and the real development of the people's material and intellectual energies.

At the will of the people that has overthrown the old regime, a regime of oppression and downtrodden rights, a regime of exploitation of man by man, the People's Sejm hereby decrees:

To request the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to admit the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Soviet Union as a Union Republic on the same principles that are enjoyed by the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other Union Republics constituting the USSR.

Long live the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic!

Long live the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

# THE LAW ON THE ADMISSION OF THE LITHUANIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC TO THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

August 3, 1940

Having heard the statement of the Authoritative Commission of the Lithuanian Sejm, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics decrees:

1. To meet the request of the Lithuanian Sejm and admit the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as an equal Union Soviet Socialist Republic.

2. To accept the proposal of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR on incorporating in the Union Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic the Sventsyany District and a part of the territory with predominantly Lithuanian population of the Vidzy, Goldutishkov, Ostrovets, Voronovo and Radun Districts of the Byelorussian SSR.

3. To request the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Supreme Soviet of the Union Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic to submit to the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics a draft for the establishment of an exact border between the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

4. To hold, in accordance with Articles 34 and 35 of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR, elections of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from the Union Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

5. To instruct the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to set a date for the elections.

(*Foreign Policy of the USSR*, Vol. IV, pp. 520-521)

# **FROM THE REPORT BY ALEXANDER YAKOVLEV TO THE SECOND CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES OF THE USSR ON THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION ON THE POLITICAL AND LEGAL ASSESSMENT OF THE SOVIET-GERMAN NON-AGGRESSION TREATY OF 1939**

Weighing the components of the past and drawing up lessons for the future, the Commission of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR for the political and legal assessment of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Treaty of August 23, 1939, arrived at the following conclusions.

From the legal point of view, the Treaty itself did not transcend the boundaries of the agreements which were concluded at that time and did not violate either the internal legislation or the international commitments of the USSR. It was made legally null and void on June 22, 1941. All Soviet-German agreements which had been in force up to that date were invalidated by the very first salvo of guns at dawn on June 22, 1941.

The fact that even at that time Stalin and some of his associates nurtured imperial plans which were alien to the principles of socialism is a different matter. But it is beyond the framework of the Treaty as an international legal document.

In the same way the illusions Stalin entertained, to all appearances, after the conclusion of the 1939 agreements are also utterly unrelated to this assessment.

It became clear at the same time that the conclusion of the Treaty violated certain inherent elements of the democratic outlook as a whole. Neither the Communists nor the overwhelming majority of other left-wing forces and pre-war movements, which certainly did not know about and did not suspect the existence of the secret protocols, were not prepared to accept the very possibility of agreeing with Hitler on anything. To disregard the sentiments and ethical convictions of the public means assuming a position which will sooner or later lead to moral, ideological and social losses—and this is exactly what happened.

The Commission came to the following conclusions regarding the protocol:

Firstly, a secret additional protocol of August 23, 1939, did exist.

Secondly, the original protocol was drawn up in the German Foreign Ministry and approved by Stalin and Molotov, with slight amendments. The

Soviet negotiators—not to their credit—forgot about their original wish to have a dual guarantee of the independence of the Baltic states. They did not insist that the protocol reflect Germany's readiness to make Japan see reason, and were satisfied with verbal promises from Ribbentrop on that score.

Thirdly, the political and government bodies of the Soviet Union were not informed about the preparation of the protocol. Molotov did not have the appropriate formal powers to sign it. The protocol was exempt from ratification and was not approved by the country's legislative or executive bodies.

Fourthly, signed in circumvention of the country's laws and in violation of its commitments under treaties with third countries, the protocol was inherently an illegal document, a collusion, reflecting the intentions of the actual persons who signed it.

Fifthly, the methods used to elaborate the protocol and the categories and terms it includes, such as "territorial-political restructuring", etc., were an obvious departure from the Leninist principles of Soviet foreign policy.

It is true that the peoples of Ukraine and Byelorussia regained their territorial integrity. But, with the same universal criteria in mind, it was surely possible to understand the feelings of those who had found themselves a powerless toy in the hands of the strong and who saw all the subsequent developments in the context of the injustices committed by Stalin.

Determined to have his share of the prey, Stalin began to speak the language of ultimatums and threats with the neighboring nations, particularly the small ones. He did not stop short of open warfare in the dispute with Finland. He made Bessarabia part of the Soviet Union once again in a high-handed imperious manner, and likewise reestablished Soviet power in the Baltic states. Those actions distorted Soviet political and state ethics.

The secret protocol of August 23, 1939, epitomized the very essence of Stalinism. This is one of the most dangerous bombs from the minefield which we have inherited and are trying to clear with great difficulty. But it has to be done. Social mines are not subject to corrosion. We are obliged to do it in the name of perestroika, in order to establish new political approaches and to restore the honour of socialism which has been marred by Stalinism.

Sooner or later, the truth will out, and falsehoods be swept away. Otherwise, civilization will not be able to develop. Never before has the acknowledgement of this fact been so relevant. If the peoples of the world are to live in peace and security, they must be united, not disunited.

# **Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR ON THE SOVIET-GERMAN TREATIES OF 1939 AND THE ELIMINATION OF THEIR CONSEQUENCES FOR LITHUANIA**

The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, confirming the conclusions of the commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for the study of Soviet-German treaties of 1939 and their consequences,

stating that the election of the People's Sejm, held on July 14 and 15, 1940, was conducted with infringements on the Constitution of the Lithuanian Republic,

condemning aggression against Lithuania, its occupation and annexation as international crimes committed by the Stalinist USSR in carrying out its secret agreements of 1939 with Hitlerite Germany,

considering that the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, in its decision of December 24, 1989, pronounced those secret agreements legally untenable and invalid from the moment of their signing,

aiming to eliminate the consequences of those agreements for Lithuania and restore the violated rights of the Lithuanian State and the Lithuanian people, the rights which Soviet Russia recognized as being valid for all time in the peaceful treaty concluded by Soviet Russia and Lithuania on July 12, 1930,

decrees:

1. To announce that the declaration of July 21, 1940, by the People's Sejm of Lithuania regarding Lithuania's entry into the USSR is unlawful and invalid, since it did not express the will of the Lithuanian people.

2. To declare that the USSR law "On the Admission of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" of August 3, 1940, based on the declaration of the People's Sejm of Lithuania of July 21, 1940, is unlawful and legally not binding for Lithuania.

3. To propose to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to start bilateral negotiations on restoring the independence of the Lithuanian State.

Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian SSR

A. BRAZAUSKAS

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Lithuanian SSR

L. SABUTIS

Vilnius, February 7, 1990